

❖ HEBRAICA. ❖

VOL. IV.

OCTOBER, 1887.

NO. I.

BALAAAM'S PROPHECY (NUMBERS XXIV. 17-24) AND THE GOD SHETH.

BY PROF. A. H. SAYCE, M. A.,

Oxford University, England.

I must begin by apologizing for adding another commentary to the many which have already appeared on the Prophecy of Balaam in Num. XXIV. 17-24; but I believe I have some new conjectures and facts to bring forward which may possibly prove of interest. That the prophecy is a cento has long since been recognized. It does not present an unbroken thread of connection, and the interruptions in verses 20, 21 and 23 suggest either that successive prophecies have been attached one by one to the original prophecy in verses 17-19, or else that the passages they introduce have been taken from other documents of various age and ancestry. An examination of the original prophecy makes the latter view the more probable.

In the first place the prophecy begins with a pronoun which has no antécédent, "I shall see *him*," "I shall behold *him*," says Balaam (verse 16), but we have no indication as to who it is that is meant by the *him*. It cannot be Israel, since Balaam was seeing Israel ranged close below him at the time; it cannot refer to "the *star*," since the latter is mentioned subsequently. The passage has obviously been taken from elsewhere, with the omission of its commencement (like Isa. II. 2). That the latter part of the verse also has been borrowed from another source is clear from a comparison with Num. XXI. 28; Jer. XLVIII. 45, and Amos II. 2, on which I shall have more to say presently. Verse 19 must also be derived from some other context. Though united by the conjunction with the preceding verse, the nominative cannot be "Israel," as this would make no sense, and we must therefore construe the verb with the impersonal "one." But the expression, "And let one rule out of Jacob" has no apparent connection with the statement immediately preceding, "Israel is doing valiantly;" while the prep-

osition מן leads us to believe that the punctuation ought to be ירר "one shall descend from Jacob" rather than ירר from ררה. This at all events was the reading of the Septuagint translators.¹ The עיר at the end of the verse cannot be right. No "city" has been referred to, only the land of Edom and Seir,—an additional proof that the verse did not originally belong to the place which it now occupies. A comparison with Num. xxi. 28 seems to indicate that the reading ought to be ער, and that the verse primarily followed immediately upon verse 17, verse 18 being an interpolation. Possibly the cause of the change of ער into עיר is to be found in Ps. lx. 9.

When we turn to the concluding verses of the prophecy (20–24), the first point which strikes us is that, whereas the original prophecy appears to refer to the conquest of Moab and Edom by David, the "parable" upon Amalek finds its fulfillment in the destruction of the Amalekites by Saul (cf. 1 Chron. iv. 43), while verses 22 and 24 transport us to the period of the Assyrian campaigns. The second point is the interpolation of verse 23, which not only interrupts the context, but is introduced by the imperfect formula "he took up his parable and said," instead of the complete, "he looked on Aššûr," etc. The paronomasia in verses 20, 21, will also be noted, inasmuch as no trace of it appears in the preceding verses.

Geiger has ingeniously suggested that in verse 22 we should disregard the Massoretic punctuation, and simply render "Who shall survive Samuel?" In this case, the words would be out of their true place which would be immediately after verse 20. Against this is the fact that the prophecy in verse 24 terminates with the same words as does verse 20.

The imperfect condition of the introductory formula in verse 23 is shown by the Septuagint to be due to a corruption of the text. The Septuagint has Καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν Ὠγ, a reading which naturally suggests the name of Agag. It cannot have originated in the אג below (which is translated ὦ ὦ), but is the best evidence yet adduced in support of Geiger's conjecture. It must be remembered that Agag is mentioned in the Massoretic text of xxiv. 7.

We should then have the following as the original text of verses 20–23:—"And when he looked on Amalek, he took up his parable and said: Amalek was the first of the nations; but his latter end shall be that he perish forever. And when he looked on Agag, he took up his parable and said: Alas, who shall survive Samuel? And he looked on the Kenites, and took up his parable and said: Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in Sela. Nevertheless the Kenite shall be wasted until Aššûr shall carry thee away captive."

There would now remain only the enigmatical verse 24. That the Massoretic text is corrupt is obvious from the impossibility of construing it, and the reading

¹ So also the Samaritan and Syriac versions and Onkelos. Gaab, Vater, Knobel, etc., endeavor to escape from the grammatical difficulty by proposing to read יקרבם or יקרבם.

of the Septuagint καὶ ἐξελεύσεται indicates that we should read יִצְאָאִים or יִצְאָאִים instead of וְצִיִּים.¹ But what is the antecedent of those who "come forth"? If we could accept the third person singular of the Septuagint (יִצָּא) the reference would be to "Aššûr" in verse 22; indeed the plural participle might also be understood in the same sense, אֲשׁוּר being construed as a collective. But יִצָּא cannot signify the "sea-coast;" it is used only of the "bank" of a river, not of the shore of the sea. I am, therefore, tempted to believe that the passage is corrupt, and that instead of יִצָּא כְּתִים we ought, perhaps, to read יְרוּשָׁלַיִם. However this may be, the name of Chittim can be defended only on the supposition that the verse was interpolated into the prophecy in the Persian or Ptolemaic age, and that the name of Aššûr which occurs in it denotes Syria. But against this supposition several weighty reasons may be urged. The obvious corruption of the first words of the verse and the various readings to which they have given rise can but be explained on the hypothesis that the verse was of much greater antiquity than such a supposition would imply; moreover, it is Eber and not Aššûr which is "also to perish forever;" and lastly the words וְעֵנוּ אֲשֶׁר are manifestly an interpolation. They destroy the parallelism of the verse; they interrupt the context, which states that Eber and not Aššûr is to perish; and the repetition of the word וְעֵנוּ indicates a scribe's error. Furthermore, unless Aššûr is taken to mean Syria, it could hardly be attacked, and as a matter of history, we know never was attacked, by an expedition coming from Cyprus; while it is difficult to make Aššûr synonymous with Eber, as the present reading of the verse would imply. It seems to me, therefore, that "Aššûr" must originally have been a marginal gloss upon וְעֵנוּ, which subsequently made its way into the text, and once there was necessarily provided with a second וְעֵנוּ. The whole verse would thus run: "And they come out of, and they (i. e., the Assyrians) afflict Eber." It must be left to future research to decide what tribe or nationality can be meant by "Eber." It may be noted, however, that Abram after coming out of Syria is called "the Hebrew" in Gen. xiv. 13, and that Damascene tradition made him a king of Damascus.

It is now time to return to the latter part of the verse 17, with which the prophecy of Balaam begins. I have already noticed that the passage is found in varying forms in other parts of the Old Testament, where it is provided with a context which is wanting here. Its oldest form seems to be preserved in Num. xxi. 28. Here a mâššâl or "old poem"² is quoted, like the mâššâl which Balaam is said to have "taken up," and which, though subsequently adapted to the conquest of Moab by the Israelites, is really an Amorite

¹ This is also the reading of the Samaritan codex and version (אֲפִקָּיִן וְיִצְאָאִים). The Targum of Jonathan has צִיִּין "armies," which, however, cannot be construed any more than the Massoretic צִיִּים.

² In Assyrian *masatu* denotes "an extract" from an old book (W. A. I., IV. 15, 23).

song of triumph—the single specimen of Amorite literature that has been preserved to us. Its adaptation to the successes of Israel caused one portion of it to become popular among Hebrew writers; hence we find Jeremiah quoting it in XLVIII. 45, 46, and Amos slightly varying its words in II. 2. Balaam treats the original with the same freedom as Amos.

The original ran as follows (Num. XXI. 28): “For there is a fire gone out of Heshbon, a flame from the city of Sihon;¹ it hath consumed Ar of Moab, the lords of the high places of the Arnon.” In Balaam’s adaptation this becomes, “There has trodden a star out of Jacob and a sceptre has arisen out of Israel; and it has shattered the temples of Moab and the head of all the sons of Sheth.” Here I have corrected the Massoretic reading קרקר into the קדקר of the text of Jeremiah; קרקר, the Pilpel of קור “to dig up,” is not used of living persons, and would moreover destroy the parallelism of the verse. It is on account of the parallelism, moreover, that I have followed Ewald in rendering פאתי by “the temples” of the head, in accordance with Lev. XIX. 27, though the Septuagint, Vulgate and Syriac, like the Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan, must have read פחתי “governors”—a reading certainly more conformable with the original than פאתי.

For Heshbon and the city of Sihon Balaam substitutes Jacob and Israel; for the ideas of “fire” and “flame” he substitutes those of “star” and “sceptre.” But the two latter ideas are not in parallelism with one another, while the verb מחץ, with which they are construed, is applicable only to the “sceptre,” and not to “the star.” Moreover the verb ררך to which כוכב serves as nominative cannot be used of a star; the natural verb to employ with כוכב would be קם which is, however, appropriated to שבט. Either כוכב or שבט must be a false reading, and since the verbs apply to שבט and not to כוכב, it is clear that it must be the latter word which is in fault. I cannot, however, propose a satisfactory emendation. The analogy of Gen. XLIX. 10, would suggest a word like מחקק; but ררך is also a strange expression, and the analogy of Num. XXI. 28, and Jer. XLVIII. 45, would lead us to expect only one verb.

The change made in the second part of the passage in Balaam’s prophecy is followed by Jeremiah, except that Jeremiah necessarily retains the אכל of the original in place of Balaam’s מחץ. The only differences between Jeremiah and Balaam are that Jeremiah has the singular פאת instead of the dual פאתי and ער מואב instead of שת.² Amos also (II. 2), who has transformed the ער מואב of the original into the like-sounding ארמנות, evidently read שאון which he explains by קול שופר and תרועה, an addition which spoils the rhythm of

¹ For מקרית סיחון, Jer. XLVIII. 5 gives us the ungrammatical מבין סיחון, where it is obvious that we should read בית “the house of Sihon,” like the Assyrian Bit-Humri for Samaria.

² I have already discussed קדקר instead of קרקר.

his verse.¹ The reading שֶׁאֵן must therefore be early. On the other hand, while the more difficult שֶׁת might be explained by the more intelligible שֶׁאֵן, it is impossible to suppose that שֶׁאֵן could have been corrupted into a word which was such a puzzle to later generations as שֶׁת. Here as elsewhere the rule holds good that the harder reading is the best.

Regarding שֶׁת, then, as the word of which שֶׁאֵן was a later attempt at explanation, what meaning can we assign to it? The expression "all the sons of Sheth" replaces the words of the original, "the lords of the high place of Arnon." The latter were the Moabites, who worshiped on the high places of Arnon; the inference therefore is obvious that "the sons of Sheth" were the Moabites who worshiped in the same locality. The expression will thus be parallel to Ben-Ammi, "an Ammonite" (Gen. xix. 38); and since we now know that Ammi was the name of the god of Ammon, we may conclude that Sheth also was the name of the Moabite god who was worshiped on the very high-places from which Balaam surveyed the children of Israel.

The conclusion is verified by archæological evidence. At the foot of the south-eastern angle of the Harem at Jerusalem Sir C. Warren found among other fragments of early pottery two handles ornamented with a representation of the winged solar disk and inscriptions in Phœnician letters of the pre-exilic period. One of these reads לְמֶלֶךְ-צִיפ "belonging to Melech-Tsiph," the other לְמֶלֶךְ-שֶׁת "belonging to Melech-Sheth." The latter name can only be explained as signifying "Moloch is Sheth," like Malchiel, Malchiyah or Melchizedek, thus bearing witness to the fact that not only was Sheth a deity, but that he was worshiped by persons who left their pottery within the precincts of Jerusalem in the valley of the sons of Hinnom. It is therefore possible that Dr. Neubauer may be right in identifying him with the antediluvian patriarch Seth, the father of Enos or "Man," as well as in seeing his name in the *Bosheth* of Mephi-bosheth and Ish-bosheth (2 Sam. ii. 8; 1 Chron. viii. 33) where *Bosheth* has first been contracted from בֶן-שֶׁת (as in Bedad for Ben-Dad) and then assimilated to בִּשְׁת "shame." What makes the latter conjecture the more probable is that שֶׁת must mean "the phallus" (see 2 Sam. x. 4; Isa. xx. 4), and stand for שֶׁנַת, the Assyrian *sinatu* "urine." Possibly Sheth was the native name of the Moabite god Baal-peor.

I am inclined to believe that the name of the god Sheth occurs in Gen. iv. 7, in a very disguised form. We here have an old proverb quoted: "If thou doest well, it is שֶׁאֵת; and if thou doest not well, חֲטָאת lieth at the door." Now the second part of the phrase is found in the Assyrian legend of the plague-god Nerra (M. 55. col. I. 4) where we read D. P. Ner-ra ra-bi-šu abulli-šu "the god

¹ It is possible that the כֶּת of Amos was suggested by the like-sounding כֶּתִי, the poetical synonym of כֶּנִי.

Nerra lieth at its gate."¹ Consequently חטאת will be the Hebrew equivalent of the Assyrian Nerra, and will mean, not "sin"—which makes no sense—but rather the punishment that follows upon sin. It has taken the place of the earlier angel of pestilence. As the latter portion of the proverb thus once contained the name of a deity, the first portion of it must have done so too, and since the termination of שאת has obviously been assimilated to that of חטאת, it is reasonable to suppose that this divine name was שת. When the proverb passed into Hebrew mouths, the god Sheth became an abstract noun, and with the assistance of the interpolated נ and the change of ש into שׁ was identified with שאת "exaltation." The latter word, however, agrees but badly with the context of the proverb, and can only be forced into harmony with it by the gratuitous supposition that פנים is "understood."

¹ We should notice the difference of form assumed by the proverb in the mouths of the settled Babylonians and the nomad Hebrews. The "city-gate" of the one is replaced by the "tent-door" of the other.

THE GREEK WORDS IN THE BOOK OF DANIEL.¹

BY PROF. HARTWIG DERENBOURG.

[Translated from the French by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Ph. D.]

* The ethnographical table in the Book of Genesis names יָוָאֵן (Yâwân) among the sons of Japheth (יָפֶֿתֿ).² Throughout the Orient the term Ionians (Ἴωνες, Ἰάονες) has become a synonym for Greeks. Both in the Semitic and the Aryan cosmography it appears to have been applied to the two sea-coasts which face each other, separated—and reunited by the numerous islands of the Ægæan Sea—from the province of that name on the western borders of Asia Minor running out into a sharp-pointed, irregularly shaped cape in the direction of Hellas.³ The Greeks themselves knew of the deep-seated confusion which led the barbarians to identify them with the “long-robed Ionians.”⁴ “The Athenians,” says Herodotus,⁵ “were not unaware of this fact, but refused to recognize any such term; and even to this day the greater part resent the appellation as an insult.”

The compiler of these old biblical genealogies, in which each people is personified by an individual, continues in these words: “And the sons of Yâwân were Elishâh (אֱלִישָׁה), Tarshish (תַּרְשִׁישׁ),⁶ the Kittites (כִּתִּים) and the Rhôdanites (רֹדָנִים).”⁷ The identifications which have been proposed for these terms occurring several times in the Old Testament, are innumerable; and the literature on the subject furnishes in itself material for an entire bibliography. Our own preference is Æolis (ἡ Αἰολίς),⁸ the Iberian colony of Tartessos (Ταρτησός), the Cyprians, inhabitants of Citium (οἱ Κιτταῖοι),⁹ and the Rhodians (οἱ Ῥόδιοι).

¹ See *Melanges Graux* (pp. 235-244) Paris, 1884. [The Translator retains, where practicable, Professor Derenbourg's transcription of Hebrew and Greek proper names.]

² x. 2 (cf. the parallel 1 Chr. i. 5). The other biblical examples of the word יָוָאֵן are Gen. x. 4 (cf. 1 Chr. i. 7); Isa. lxvi. 19; Ezek. xxvii. 13; Joel iv. 6 בְּנֵי הַיִּוָּנִים “the sons of the Ionians”; Zech. xi. 13; Dan. viii. 21, where Alexander the great is designated as מֶלֶךְ יָוָאֵן “the king of the Greeks;” x. 20, where he is called שַׂר יָוָאֵן “the chief of the Greeks,” who rules מַלְכוּת יָוָאֵן “the kingdom of Greece” (xi. 2). All the epigraphical and literary material bearing on this ancient term has been carefully collected and discussed by Prof. B. Stade, in his essay *De populo Javan parergon patrio sermone conscriptum* (Gissae, 1860).

³ A. Pictet, “Les Yavanos et les Ionians dans Les Origines Indo-européennes.” 2. ed. Paris, 1877. I., p. 76 seq.

⁴ Ἰάονες ἑλληχίτωνες, *Iliad*, XIII., 685.

⁵ Book I., 143. See also the very interesting passages on this subject collected by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, p. 587b.

⁶ The text in 1 Chr. i. 7, reads תַּרְשִׁישָׁה in order to perfect a rhyme among the four names, divided into two pairs.

⁷ So the reading in Chronicles, according to which Genesis, where we have רֹדָנִים, is to be corrected. The Septuagint and the Samaritan translations have already in Genesis the reading which we, following the example of Reuss and Stade, regard as the preferable one. Reuss, however, adds that, for the “Dardanites,” some have suggested the Dardaniens, others, Troyans or Dodone and even Illyrians (“L’histoire sainte et la loi, I., p. 331). Note also Ezek. xxvii. 19, 20, where Yâwân and Dedân follow close upon one another.

⁸ This, according to Stade (op. cit., pp. 8, 9), was the ancient name of Carthage.

⁹ At present the village of Larnaca, which figures in the first part of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (pp. 35-100) with seventy-eight inscriptions. Ezekiel speaks of the “isles of the Cithians.”

The conquests of Alexander, in the year 332 B. C., gave the Greek language a preponderating influence in Palestine. Hebrew grammar, indeed, firmly resisted the Macedonian sway, as it formerly presented an inflexible front against Persian rule; but the vocabulary was enriched by the addition of a number of foreign words, imported with new conceptions for which there existed no equivalents in the national tongue. It is of the Greek elements in the Book of Daniel that I propose to treat.

The date and composition of the Book of Daniel have been fixed with an absolute certainty. It is a Palestinian work¹ of the year 169 or 168 before the Christian era. Hebrew and an Aramaic dialect, known as biblical Aramaic, are used alternately, as in the Book of Ezra. But our author goes even further, and does not hesitate to give his work a still stronger polyglottic character by the introduction of Persian and Greek words. M. Haug, in a learned monograph, has traced the etymologies of the former,² and I shall endeavor to do the same for the latter.

King Nebukadnešsar (נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר), we are told, had erected a statue which was to be dedicated in the presence of all the dignitaries of the kingdom. The herald charged to "proclaim with might" the orders of the king, is called כְּרוֹזָא which is the ordinary Aramaean transcription of the Greek κήρυξ. The herald speaks as follows to the noble assembly: "Peoples, nations and languages! At the moment when ye hear the sound of the cornet, the flute, guitar, harp, psaltery, bag-pipe, in a word, of all instruments, ye shall fall down and prostrate yourselves before the statue of gold which king Nebukadnešsar has set up."³

The unfashionable sounds of the Kinnôr and Ugâb, the invention of which, according to the Bible, reaches back to the earliest days of humanity,⁴ are here replaced by the grander tones of a foreign orchestra.

1st. The cornet, קֶרֶן. The proper meaning of the word is "horn" of an animal; it is used in this sense in the very same Book of Daniel (vii. 7, 8, 20, 21, 24.) But wherever the word has penetrated, it has been applied to designate a wind-instrument of one kind or another. The analogy of the Greek κέρας (κέρατος) might be invoked; but it is fully counterbalanced by the constant usage in pure

¹ Apart from the linguistic point of view, which in itself is decisive, the contents of ch. IX., referring to Jerusalem, removes all further doubts.

² In Ewald's *Jahrbuecher d. Bibl. Wissenschaft* (1853), V., pp. 151-164.

³ A denominative verbal form is found in v. 29, הִכְרוֹז, which has the sense of κηρύσσω "proclaim by voice of herald." Dan. iii. 4. The "wâw" (ו), which I have rendered by "in a word," is frequently used in this way by the author of the Book of Daniel when, at the end of a detailed enumeration, he resumes the thread of his discourse. So ch. iii. 2, וְכָל שְׁלֹמֵי מְדִינָתָא means "in a word all the dignitaries of the kingdom;" iii. 21, וְלְבוּשֵׁיהֶן means "in a word, all their garments;" iii. 27, וְהַדְבָּרִי מִלְכָּא means "in a word all the intimate advisors of the king," etc. A similar use of the copula "wâw" is not without example in Hebrew, as ii. Exod. xx 9.

⁴ Gen. iv. 21. Professor Grätz, whose indefatigable activity leads him to all subjects, has devoted an extensive article to the part which music played in the temple of Jerusalem. See *Monatschrift f. Gesch. u. Wiss. d. Judenthums*, 1881, No. 6; and also his commentary to the Psalms (Breslau, 1882), I., 64 seq.

Hebrew of קַרְן in the proper sense of "horn."¹ Nor is it likely that the Latin form *cornu* should have contributed to this transformed meaning of κέρας, for it is only a century later that Rome appears on the scene, to play the rôle of conqueror of the present and destroyer of the past, in the Orient.

2d. The flute, מִשְׁרוּקִיתָא. Like karna, this word is the result of a compromise between the Hebrew-Aramaic stem שָׁרַק "whistle" and the Greek σὺριγξ. The prefix and termination are Semitic; but the body of the word, shrôkî, bears a resemblance to σὺριγξ which is rendered all the more striking by the fact that, in proper names, a Shîn is always the equivalent of the Greek Sigma. Both the Septuagint and the version of Theodotion have σὺριγξ. It ought to be added, however, that, according to a Greek tradition preserved in the *Onomasticon* of Pollux (IV., 9, § 15), this species of pipe is claimed to be an invention of two Medes.

3. The guitar, קִתְרֹס, with the variant קִתְרִים.² While the foreign origin of the two preceding words may be disputed, and in fact has been often contested, there is a general consensus in regarding κίθαρῖς (a poetic form of κithára),³ as the source of kithros.

4. The *sambuca*, סַבְכָּא. The Greek forms for this species of harp are σαμβύκη, σάμβυξ (σάμβυχος), ζαμβύκη, perhaps also ἱαμβύκη. From what region the word came to the Greeks it is difficult to determine. Neither Athenæus *Deipnosophistes* (IV., 23), nor Strabo, *Geography* (X., § 17), consider it to be of Greek origin. The instrument acquired great favor at Rome, in the hands of the fascinating *sambucinae* et *sambucistriae*. In speaking of the latter, Scipio the younger says, in Macrob. *Saturnales* (III., XIV., 6), "Docentur praestigias inhonestas cum cinoedulis et sambuca psalterioque eunt in ludum histrionum." As in Daniel, the *sambuca* is there joined to psaltery.

5. The psaltery, פִּסְתִּיתִין. The termination "în," which might suggest the Aramaean plural, corresponds generally to the Greek ιον in Neo-Hebraic and Aramaean transcriptions of Greek words. Thus we have, besides our word,⁴ סנהדרין, συνέδριον,⁵ אפופοδῖον, ὑποπόδιον,⁶ etc.

¹ In one passage, indeed (Jos. vi. 5), קַרְן is used by the side of the ordinary term Shôfâr, to designate a trumpet. The enumeration of the musical instruments in the third chapter of Daniel occurs again in vs. 7, 10 and 15, with slight variations, which will be treated in their proper place. My quotations are according to the critical edition of Baer & Delitzsch (Leipzig, 1882).

² So the Kêthib in the four examples of this word, while according to the Kêri the vocalization is "Kathros," with the suppression of the "yôd."

³ Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1215a, has collected a number of instances where the termination "os" has in Aramaean been substituted for a Greek formation in "is."

⁴ The "n" has also left its trace in the variant פִּסְתִּירִין (v. 7).

⁵ The French "sanhedrin" has been adopted directly from the Aramaean form, which is overlooked in Littre's French Dictionary.

⁶ Quite a number of such examples have been collected by Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1116b. M. Dozy has shown that the Arabic authors and copyists likewise adopt a termination "în" in the transcription of Latin words in place of "us." So "Romanus" becomes with them "Românîn," and "Alvitus" is changed to "Alvitîn." Dozy, "Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge." 3d ed. (1881), I., p. 104.

6. The bag-pipe, **סִיפְנִיָּה**.¹ This is the Greek *συμφωνία*, which, moreover, all the ancient versions have reproduced with rare unanimity; the Septuagint as well as Theodotion, the *Veneta* as also the Vulgate. According to a fragment of Polybius, preserved in Athenæus *Deipnosophistes* (X., 52), Antiochus Epiphanes showed a marked fondness for this instrument at the very epoch when the Book of Daniel was written. The bag-pipe, it is supposed, was thus called, because the sound obtained by the aid of two tubes produces for the ear a "symphony" of harmonious tones.²

Besides *karôzâ* and the six musical instruments, the "Chaldæan" portion of Daniel (II. 4b—VII.) contains a number of words which appear to come of Greek stock. They are as follows:

(a) **פִּתְגָּם** "word," which is found only in Ezra and the more modern literature of Israel,³ is perhaps a derivation of the ancient Persian (Pehlevi) "patgam," in modern Persian, "paigam," but possibly also the equivalent of the Greek *φθέγμα*.⁴

(b) **פְּתִישׁ**.⁵ If the explanation of Ewald⁶ be accepted, it is the Greek *πέτασος* "hat."

(c) **הַמְּנִיכָא**, with the variant **הַמְּנִיכָא**,⁷ "necklace," is clearly the Greek *μανιάχης*, with a prosthetic aspiration which might mislead, had we not, on the other hand, the form **מְנִיכָא** in the Targum and in the Talmud (Levy's *Chald. Dict.*, s. v.).

(d) **סָרְכִין**, plural of an unused singular **סָרְךְ** "prefect," "magistrate," probably an assemblage of officials, sitting as the members of a tribunal, or of a grand council, which recalls the archons (*ἀρχοντες*), or rather, if one wishes to account for the initial sibilant, *συνάρχοντες*.⁸

(e) **רִחִין**, an *ἄπαξ εἰρημένον*,⁹ which the Vulgate translates "cibi;" the Septu-

¹ In vs. 5 and 15. In verse 7 it is omitted, and in verse 10 it appears with a K^ethib **סִיפְנִיָּה** and a K^eri **סִיפְנִיָּה**.

² Forcellini, *Lexicon totius latinitatis*, s. v., knows of an instrument called "symphonia," and compares the "sampogna" of the Italian villages.

³ Dan. iii. 16; iv. 14; Ezra iv. 17; v. 7, 11; vi. 11; Esth. i. 20; Eccles. viii. 11.

⁴ According to Halévy, "Recherches critiques sur l'origine de la civilisation babylonienne," p. 263 (Paris, 1876), this word is rather the Greek *ποτίτραγμα*, a Dorian form, as he supposes, of *πρόσταγμα*.

⁵ Dan. iii. 21, where the K^ethib is **פְּתִישִׁירוֹן** and the K^eri **פְּתִישִׁירוֹן**.

⁶ *Die Propheten d. Alten Bundes*, 2d ed., III., p. 476. The Septuagint and the Arabic versions translate in much the same way, "their tiaras." Lagarde derives the word from the Indian "patṭica," "pattica." See *Symmicta*, I., p. 60.

⁷ According to the K^eri, Dan. v. 7, 16, 29. The Septuagint has *ὁ μανιάκης ὁ χρύσεος*.

⁸ Dan. iii. 4, 5, 7, 8. Haug claims Persian origin for this word. See loc. cit. p. 162. Besides the form **סָרְכִין** in the Targum Onkelos, the Targums of Jerusalem furnish us with a form **סָרְכִין**, also a singular in the sense of "prince," "sovereign," which Levy, *Chaldaisches Woerterbuch*, II., p. 119a, compares with *ἀρχων*.

⁹ Dan. vi. 19. I am well aware that the modern critics have adopted an entirely different view, and agree in translating "and concubines he permitted not to come to him." Among those favoring this view may be mentioned Gesenius and Lengerke (1835), Hitzig (1850) with a slight variation (he translates "Dirnen"), Kranichfeld (1868), Keil (1869), Reuss (1879). For all

agint with ἐδέσματα, and the Arabic version also as food, and which I propose to connect with ἔδω "to eat," in conformity with the ancient tradition, all the more reliable, in this instance, for bordering so close upon the period of the composition of the work.

With all possible reserve, I add to this list,

(f) The comparison which has been ventured between the enigmatical נְבוֹזָה occurring twice (II. 6; V. 17), and in both passages in connection with מַתָּן "gifts," and the Greek νόμισμα "money," by a quite plausible exchange of "m" and "b." The common translation both of ancient and modern versions and commentators is "rewards."

In the Hebrew portion of Daniel (I. 2, 4a, 8-11) there are also some words which may be traced to Greek prototypes, although in some of these instances it is possible to prove a Greek origin with absolute certainty:

1. In פְּרָתִים (I. 3) "nobles" I believe we may recognize, with Gesenius,¹ the πρότιμοι, if the word is not, following Ewald, to be referred to a Persian word of the same stem and formation.²

2. לפִּירֵי אֵשׁ (x. 6) "flaming torches" is given in the Septuagint as λαμπάδες. The reduplication of the "pe" (פ) in the Hebrew word strengthens the probability of an identification between לפִּיר and λαμπάς (λαμπάδος). But, on the other hand, the force of the objection that the word "lappîd" is found at all periods of Hebrew literature³ cannot be denied. Possibly it is really the Greek λάμπω "shine," with all its derivatives, which is of Semitic origin.

3. It is customary to render מְכֻמְנִים (XI. 43) as "treasures." So the Vulgate and the Syriac, while the Septuagint and the Arabic, translating "hidden stores," seem to refer the word to a Semitic stem "kaman" (hide, conceal). As for the modern commentators, they are as unanimous in their translation "treasures" as in their silence with regard to the derivation. I imagine that they take the word in the sense of "preserved," "stored away," as מְטֻמְנִים, which differs from our word only in the first letter of the stem, and as the Arabic دَخَائِرُ (dhakhâ'irou). But for my part, I am strongly inclined to suspect that we have here a phenomenon similar to that pointed out above in the case of מְשֻׁרוּקִיתָא, namely, a Semitic formation grafted on an Indo-European word. Just as in

that, apart from the importance to be attached to almost contemporaneous translations, the comparison with the Hebrew passage (Dan. x. 3), "neither meat nor wine entered my mouth," induces me to translate also here "food he permitted not to be brought before him." The objection that this interpretation would involve a useless repetition, in view of the preceding mention of his fasting, is fully offset by the prolix style of the Book of Daniel. Besides, concubines are called by an entirely different name, לְחֵנָה (v. 2, 3, 23).

¹ *Geschichte d. hebr. Sprache und Schrift* (Leipzig, 1815), p. 64. In his *Thesaurus*, Gesenius speaks in less positive terms. The word is found again in Esther i. 3; vi. 9. Halévy also favors the etymology πρότιμοι (op. cit. p. 62).

² *Die Propheten*, etc., III., p. 470.

³ Gen. xv. 17; Exod. xx. 18; Jud. viii. 16, 20; xv. 4, 5; Isa. lxii. 1, etc.

σύριγξ, so here we have the prefix, preceding a Greek word which appears to me to be κειμήλια. An intentional or unconscious association with כִּמְן "hide" may have brought about the substitution of a Hebrew נ for the Greek λ in the final syllable.¹

4. When the ancient translators of Daniel came across a word with which they were not familiar, they supposed it to be a proper name and contented themselves with transcribing the word. In this way אֲפֶרְנִי, in the phrase אֲהִלְ אֲפֶרְנִי (xi. 45), became in the Septuagint Ἐφιδανός, and *Apadnus* in the Vulgate. The Syriac and Arabic translate "in the plain," without accounting for the suffix. The general opinion of scholars to-day is to compare the Arabic فَدَن (fadanun), and render the expression by "tents of his palace." However, the old word פָּרָן which in Genesis² designates the "plain" (of Aram), seems, having emigrated to Greece, where it is found in the form of πεδίον and πέδον, to re-appear in the Book of Daniel, with a prosthetic א. I do not hesitate to refer the suffix to the whole phrase, and translate "and he will pitch his tents of the plain."

5. Hitzig, in his commentary to the Book of Daniel,³ has compared the subordinate official charged to superintend the education of Daniel and of his companions, and called מֶלְשָׁר (i. 11) or, without the article, "melšar," with Μολοσσός, Laconian Μολοσσόρ. Then he connects Μολοσσόρ with κολοσσός, which contains the idea of grandeur, just as, in Hebrew, we have רַב, originally "great," and then used for "master" (rabbi). All this scaffolding is ingeniously put together rather than solidly, and it is useless to point out the untenableness of such a conjecture.⁴

The field of these detailed investigations might perhaps be extended by showing the resemblances from Daniel, the youngest of all the books which have been admitted into the canon, to the most ancient documents, as the song of Deborah, some fragments of Genesis, and some few Psalms. The list of Greek words would grow smaller, until they would gradually disappear altogether, the nearer we would approach the purest and most archaic Hebrew. The conclusions to which such researches, carried on in "cold blood," without fear of the conclusions and with a serene and implacable impartiality, would lead, might be astonishing to some. The supposed antiquity of the "Song of Songs"⁵ would

¹ The resemblance between כִּמְן (Isa. xxviii. 25, 27) and κύμινον "cumin," is of course not accidental. The word belongs to that numerous class of terms expressing natural objects common to the Semitic and Indo-European families. Gesenius, in his *Geschichte* (pp. 65-68), has treated with great exactness the words common to the two groups. Ernest Renan has taken up the same subject in his *Histoire des Langues Semitiques* (4th ed.) pp. 204-210; and it is needless to add that his remarks bear, as usual, the stamp of his marvelous tact and encyclopædic knowledge.

² xxv. 20; xxviii. 2, 5, 6, 7; xxxi. 18; xxxviii. 18; xxxv. 9; xli. 15.

³ In the series *Kurzgefasstes exeget. Handbuch z. Alt. Test.*, p. 11 seq.

⁴ Halévy (op. cit. 262) compares the Greek μυλωθρός *müller*. He has also proposed a Greek etymology for מֶלְשָׁר (Dan i. 5, 8, 13, 15; xi. 26), which he connects with ποτιφάγιον, a Dorian form of προσφάγιον. *Ib.*, p. 240, note 2.

⁵ Even those that deny the authenticity of the Song of Songs, and refuse to regard it as a

have to be tested anew by such a study, undertaken by scholars, free from all apologetic prejudices.¹ But what if the composition of the book be moved down some centuries, would the song for that be any less the poem *par excellence* of vernal love? Would the "dark spikenard" Sulamith exhale a perfume less sweet?² Would not all the lovers of the beautiful and of the ideal continue to ask, with the royal lover, "Who is this that shineth like the morning dawn; beautiful as the moon, bright as the sun, terrible as a battalion of warriors?"

work of King Solomon, ordinarily place its composition about the tenth century before our era. According to our conclusions the date cannot be earlier than the Macedonian conquest, which took place in 332. The beauty and richness of the style recalls that of the Psalms of this epoch; and the book seems to have been written in the first years of the Macedonian sway, at the close of the fourth century before the Christian era. Without entering into details, I would recall פִּרְיָא (Cant. iii. 9), which the Septuagint translates *φορεῖον* "couch," and פִּרְיָס (iv. 13) "garden," which reproduces exactly the consonants and vowels of *παράδεισος*. Incidental to the former word, which occurs in the Targum under the form פִּרְיָא, without the prosthetic alef (Levy, "Chald. Wörterbuch," II., p. 290a), and in the Talmud under the form פִּרְיָא, Dr. M. Sachs speaks of "the modern Hebrew of the Song of Songs." *Beitraege z. Sprach- u. Alterthumforschung aus juedischen Quellen* (Berlin, 1852-54), II., p. 69.

¹ Grätz has undertaken such an investigation with an inexorable logical force, in his book *Das Hohelied uebersetzt u. kritisch erlaeutert* (Leipzig, 1871). In his *Kohelet* (Leipzig, 1871) he has collected, in an appendix, the "Grecisms in Kohelet."

² Song i. 12. On נָר "spikenard" (*nardus*) see Löw, *Aramaeische Pflanzennamen* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 368.

AN ARABIC VERSION OF THE "REVELATION OF EZRA."

BY RICHARD J. H. GOTTHEIL, PH. D.,

Columbia College, New York.

In the *Zeitschrift f. d. alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, VI., 1886, p. 199, Prof. Baethgen, of Kiel, has given the Syriac text of an Ezra Apocalypse from a Berlin MS. (Sachau 131).¹ Prof. Isaac H. Hall had before this given a translation of the same text from a MS. belonging to the Union Theological Seminary in New York.² Dr. Baethgen has overlooked what Steinschneider has said (ZDMG. XXVIII., p. 647) in reference to this Apocalypse. In addition to the London and Roman copies, there is a MS. of this text in Paris. Dr. Steinschneider suggests that the Arabic Paris MS. 107 contains the same text. The following extracts from that MS. which Prof. Hartwig Derenbourg has very kindly made at my request, show that Dr. Steinschneider was, in the main, right in his supposition. The substance of both is the same, though the Arabic represents a different and, at times, a fuller version. I give the text just as Prof. Derenbourg sent it. Of the MS. he says: "Le nouveau catalogue, rédigé en français a pour base des bulletins rédigés par le célèbre orientaliste italien Amari, contient ce qui suit à la page 34: '2° (fol. 14) Explication de la vision que le prophète Daniel raconta à son disciple Esdras, et indication de ce qui doit arriver aux enfants d'Ismael e d'Agar la Copte.' Le texte auquel il est fait allusion commence au fol. 14 r° au haut de la page après une page blanche et finit à la ligne 2 du fol. 20 r°."

In the same article Dr. Baethgen treats of the Syriac text of Epiphanius' "Lives of the Prophets" contained in Sachau 131.³ The opening sections in the Syriac on the authorship of the different biblical books and on the life of Job, seem to be wanting in the Greek recensions. It might be interesting to follow up some of these notes to their source. There is no doubt that some of them go back to Talmudic traditions, e. g., that Moses wrote the Book of Job,⁴ or that Pinḥās was concerned in the composition of Joshua.

The notices about Job are also given in the lexicons of Bar 'Alī and Bar Bahlūl; see Payne Smith, col. 140, s. v. 𐤀𐤋; 1537, s. v. 𐤀𐤋. Rabbenu Tam was also of opinion that 'Alûkâ is the name of a wise man.⁵

¹ See also *Journal of the Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Exeg.*, Dec. 1886, p. 102; *The Independent*, Jan. 13, 1887.

² *Presbyterian Review*, 1886, p. 537.

³ *Journal of Soc. of Bib. Lit. and Exeg.*, Dec., 1886, p. 97.

⁴ Fürst, *Der Kanon des Alten Testaments*, p. 80; Marx, *Traditio Rabbīnorum Veterīma*, p. 14; Baer and Strack, *Dikduke Hateamim*, p. 78; cf. also *B. O.*, I., 488.

⁵ Delitzsch, *Das Salmonsche Spruchbuch*, p. 498.

بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس
الاله الواحد له المجد امين .

نبتدى بعون الله تعالى وحسن توفيقه بشرح روبا دانيال النبي
الذى اخبر به عزرة تلميذه بما يكون من خبر بنى اسمعيل بن
هاجر القبطية .

بسلام الربّ امين . امين . امين .

قال دانيال النبي لعزرة تلميذه اسمع روباى يا ابنى واعجب من
اعمال الله البرّ وعدله وقايق (sic) امره وثبات قوله فى جميع الخلوف
والامم واعلم انى رايت ملاكا نزل من السماء يسبح ويمجد وعليه
لباس ابيض ووجهه كالبرق منير يزهر ويداه وساعدها وذراعاها
كالنحاس وعيناه مثل شعاع الشمس وبيده اليمنى محله (مجلّة 1.)
مملوءة كتابة . فقال لى ان الله قد سمع صلواتك وارسلنى اليك
اعرفك ما يكون فى اخر الزمان وهذه المجلّة لك فافتح واقرأ ما
فيها واخذت المجلّة من يده بكشية ورعدة فنشرتها وقراتها فاذا
فيها بلايا شتى ومضرة بالغة شديدة الضكّة (sic) وحمدت الله الذى
يرفع من يشا ويبنع من يشاء وله الملك والقدرة وقلت يا رب
احفظ وخلص شعبك من الحيّة الضاربة التى فمها مملوء سماً وليس
الخلاص منها بل منك انت ايها الاله القوى الجبار ثم نظرت الى
المجلّة فاذا فيها حيّة على رأسها اثنى عشر قرنا وعلى ذنبها تسعة
قصبان تجى من البرية ورايتها تقابل جميع الشعوب والامم
وسلطانها شديد على كل البشر وهى مخوفة تتجرّع السم وتنفض

على من (fol. 14. v^o) صلاحها ثم رايت ملاكا نزل من السماء فقتلها
وفرق قضبانها الخ

The Apocalypse ends as follows :

(fol. 19. v^o) ويكون لليهود فرح لانهم يقولون هو المسيح الذي
ينتظرونه ويجمعهم ويتبعه عامة الناس الا الاصفياء الصابرون في
الجهاد ثم يحى ايليا واحنوح فيبكيانه مواجهه ومجاهداته
مجاهدة وتكون اراقة دماءهم على يديه ثم ينزل الرب من السماء
مع ملائكته المقربين فهلك المردول ويسع من في القبور القرن
العظيم فيقومون ويسجدون لله ويرون العلامة المقدسة التي كفروا
بها فيتعجبون منها ويفرح الابرار ويحزنون المكرمون وتمضى
الابرار امام الاهم في العمام (الغمام sic, 1.) الى المللوت (الملكوت
sic, 1.) وتذهب الاشرار الى العم (الغم sic, 1.) والعذاب الشديد ولما
رأيت (20 r^o) انا دانيال هذه الرويا وكتبتها وتركتها تذكرة للاخرين
والسبح لله دائما ابدا سرمدًا
امين . امين . امين .

In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, the one God, to whom glory [is ascribed], Amen.

With the aid of God, the exalted, and his beautiful guidance, we will commence the explanation of the story of the Prophet Daniel, which he told to Ezra, his pupil, in reference to that which was to happen in the history of the children of Ishmael, the son of Hagar, the Egyptian. With the peace of God! Amen! Amen! Amen!

Daniel, the prophet, said to Ezra, his pupil: Listen to my story, O my son! and wonder at the works of God, the faithful one, and at his justice, and at.... of his utterance, and the stability of his word with all living and existing beings. Know then that I saw an angel, clad in a white garment, his face shining like

bright lightning, his hands and fore-arms and his arms [being] like copper, his eyes as the rays of the sun, come from heaven praising and glorifying [God]. And in his right hand there was a scroll full of writing. Then he said to me: God has already heard thy prayers and has sent me to you to tell you what will happen at the end of time. This scroll is for thee: open it, therefore, and read what is in it. Then I took the scroll from his hand with fear and trembling. And I opened it and read it; and behold in it were [mentioned] sundry afflictions and evils which were to come, terrible in..... Then I praised God, who exalts whom he wishes, and brings down whom he wishes; and to him belong the kingdom and the power.

Then I said, O Lord! preserve and keep thy people from the bloody serpent, whose mouth is full of poison. There is no escape from it but in thee. Thou art God, the strong, the mighty one. And I looked into the scroll, and behold there was a serpent [mentioned?] upon whose head were twelve horns and upon whose tail nine [protruding] bones, which was to come from without; and I saw that it would make war upon all mankind, and [upon all] peoples. Its leader was cruel to all flesh; and it [itself] was fearful, ejecting poison as water and casting [it] upon whomsoever lighted upon it.¹ Then I saw an angel come down from heaven, and kill it and break its horns.

(fol. 19 v^o). And the Jews will be rejoiced because they will say: He is the Messiah for whom they have waited, and [that] he would collect them, and [that] the most men would follow him, except such hard-hearted ones who remain in contention [with him]. Then Elijah will come and Enoch, and the two will drive him to the utmost extremity, and he will make a strong fight. And the shedding of their blood shall be upon his hands. Then will the Lord come down from heaven with his angels who surround him and destroy the wicked one.

And they in the grave will hear the mighty horn. Then they will stand up, and fall down before God, and they will see the holy sign which they had [formerly] denied. Then they will be astonished at it, and the good will rejoice and the damned ones be sad. And the good will come into the presence of their God in the clouds to [inherit] the kingdom, and the wicked will go into trouble and frightful punishment.

And when I, Daniel, had seen this vision, I wrote it down and left it for those that come after me. Praise be to God, the everlasting, the eternal, the perpetual one. Amen! Amen! Amen!

¹ Prof. Derenbourg is not at all certain of the reading of this word. Mr. A. B. Ehrlich, suggests šādaphahā, and I have translated accordingly.

SOME UNPUBLISHED ESARHADDON INSCRIPTIONS.
(CYLINDER C; 80, 7-19, 15; PS. AND K. 1679.)

BY ROBERT F. HARPER, PH. D.,

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The three historical cylinders of Esarhaddon, now found in the British Museum, I have numbered A, B and C. A is published in I R. 45-47; B in III R. 15-16; C has not as yet been published. The cylinder published in III R. 15-16 has usually been called the "Broken Cylinder" or C, but I have preferred to designate it as B, because it is larger, better preserved and, perhaps, more important than the unpublished and unnumbered cylinder which I have called C.

During the summer of 1885, while working in the Assyrian Room of the British Museum, I had occasion to collate cylinders A and B and to copy cylinder C, together with several other fragments of the Esarhaddon inscriptions. The results of my collations of A and B I have already given in the April number of *HEBRAICA*, on pages 177-185, under the title: "Some Corrections to the Texts of Cylinders A and B of the Esarhaddon Inscriptions as published in I R. 45-47 and III R. 15-16." My copy of the hitherto unpublished cylinder C will be found on the following plates.

Cylinder C, as can be seen from these plates, is very badly broken in some places. None of its columns are complete. This cylinder is, however, notwithstanding its very imperfect condition, of the greatest importance for the restoration and establishment of the text of A. The editors of I Rawlinson evidently made much use of C in restoring A. A as published in I R. is quite different from the A found on the original clay cylinder in the British Museum. The editors of I R. have quietly restored (from cylinder C) many lines without comment. Many signs also on A are so badly broken as to be quite unintelligible without the help of C. The two cylinders seem to go hand in hand. The one is necessary to the other. Where A is badly preserved, C is generally well preserved, and the contrary is also true. As a result of this, it is possible to restore the text of A, with the help of C, in all but a very few places. Notice the frequent reference to cylinder C in my "Corrections to A, etc.," in the April *HEBRAICA*.

Great pains were taken in copying cylinder C, as well as 80, 7-19, 15; PS. and K. 1679, and the following plates will be found to be almost exact reproductions of these fragmentary inscriptions. No attempt, however, was made to reproduce the Assyrian signs as they are on the originals. For the convenience

of any who may care to make use of these fragments for comparative work, I add the following scheme :

Cylinder C I. is wanting.

" C II. = Cylinder A I. 44-55, II. 1-29.

" C III. = " A III. 10-53.

" C IV. = " A IV. 16-59.

" C V. = " A V. 22-VI. 16.

" C VI. = " A VI. 38-59.

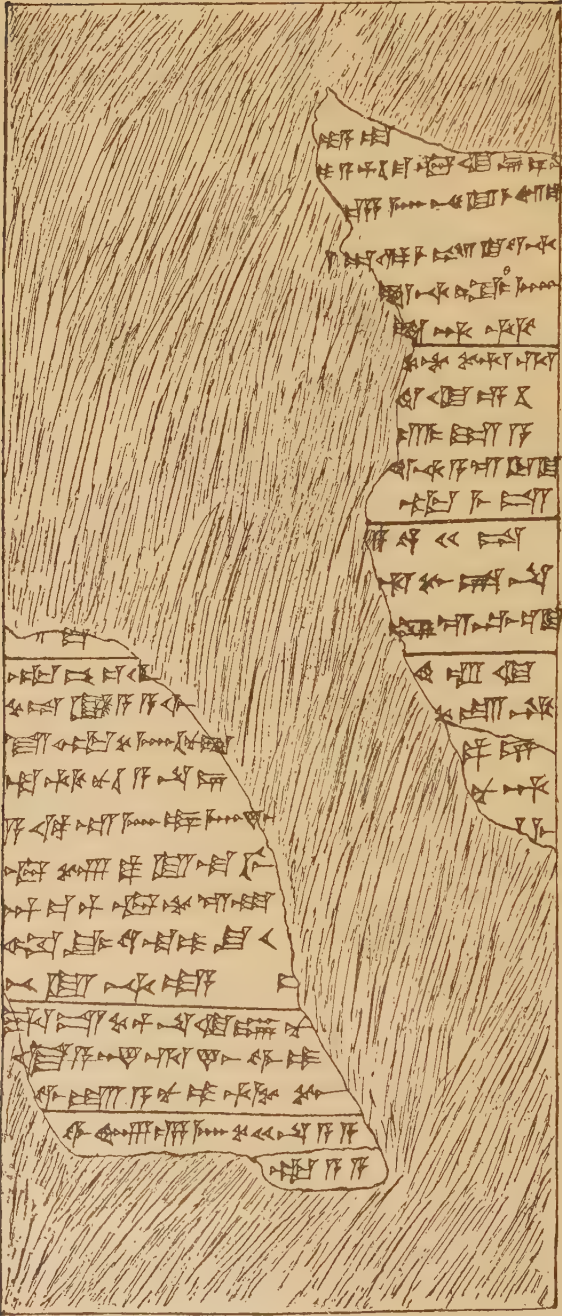
Lines 56-71 published in I R. as belonging to cylinder A VI. are added from C (latter half of col. VI.) and B VI. 12-24. The editors of I R. should have made mention of this fact, as in their present position, there is no reason to believe that they are not to be found on the original of cylinder A. Mr Ernest A. Budge, in his edition of the texts of cylinders A and B of the Esarhaddon inscriptions must have made little or no use of cylinder C in his restoration of the text of A. Mr. Budge claims that he made continual reference to all the Esarhaddon texts found in the British Museum; but the condition in which he left the texts of A and B would hardly bear out this statement.

80, 7-19, 15; PS. is a fragment of a cylinder containing now only two badly broken pieces of columns. I have reproduced only the first of these two columns. This column is of great importance in the study of the text of A IV. 8-18 and A III. 25-37.

K. 1679, cf. with this small fragment cylinder A I. 40-49.

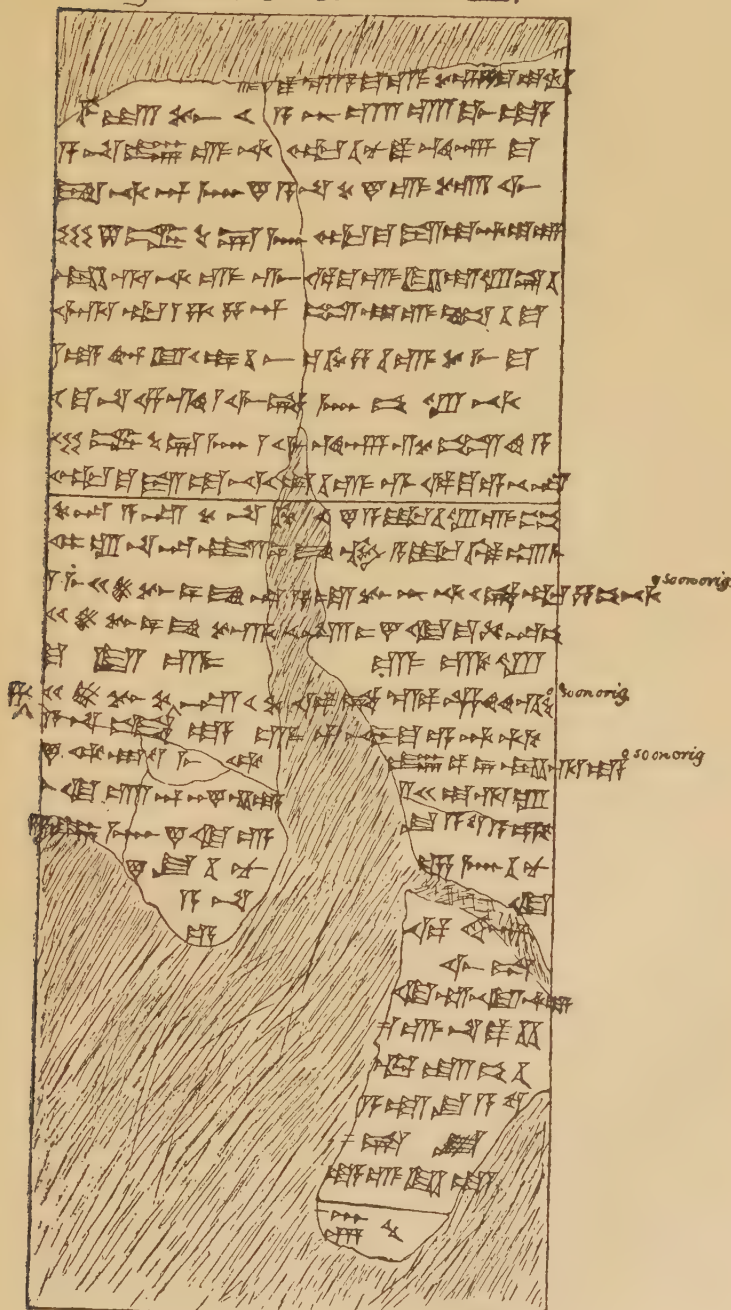
I am under many obligations to my friend, Mr. Theo. G. Pinches, of the British Museum, both for the very great kindness he showed me during my stay in the British Museum, and for the collations of several texts he has sent me since my return to America. I am also indebted to my highly-honored teacher, Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, for his careful examination of these texts and for several important suggestions.

Cylinder C. Column II.

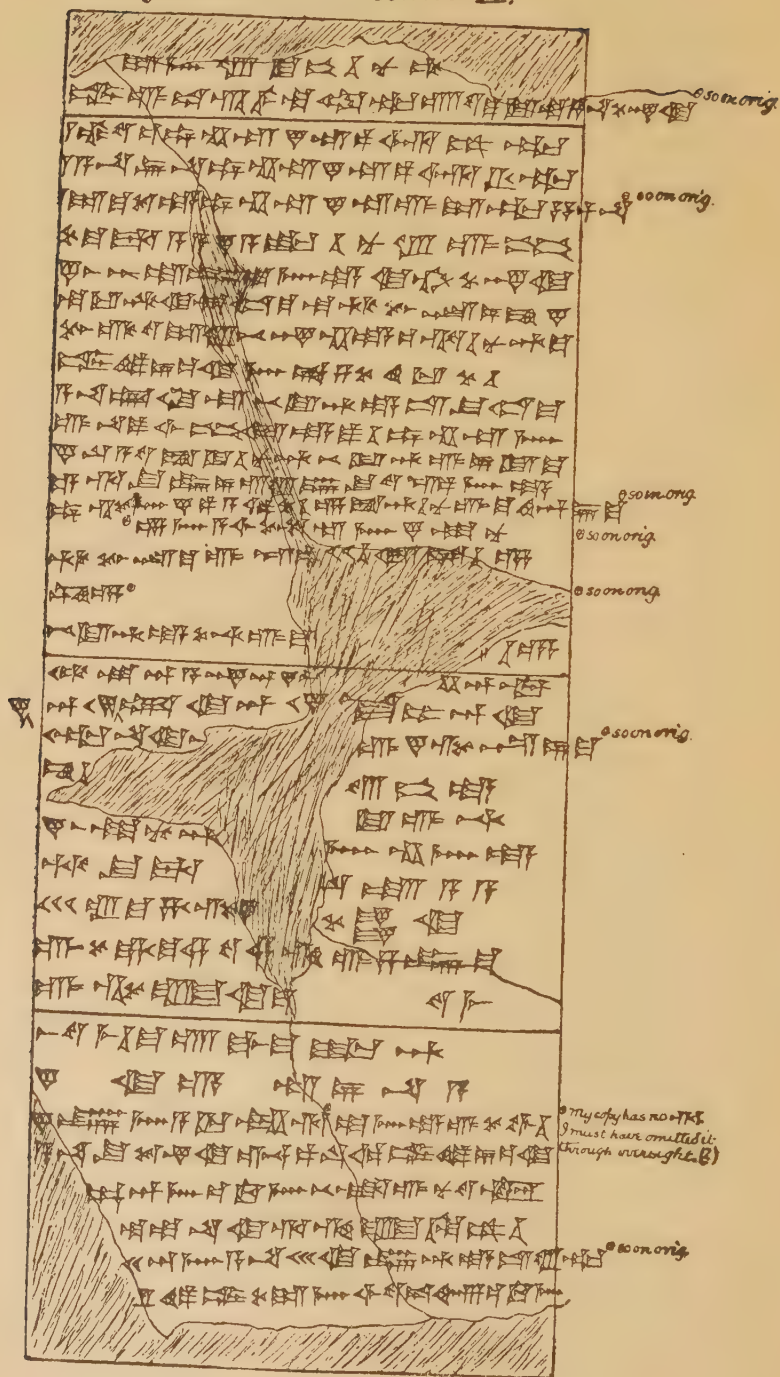


orig.
so written

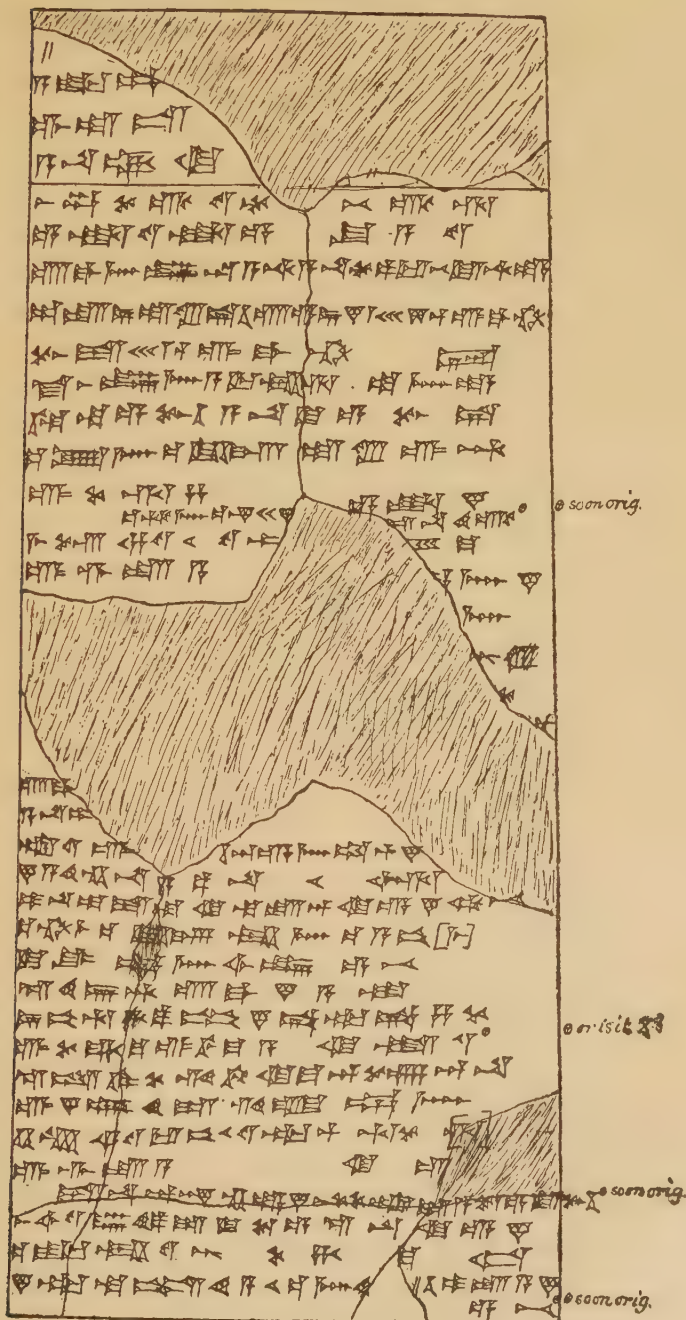
Cylinder C. Column III.



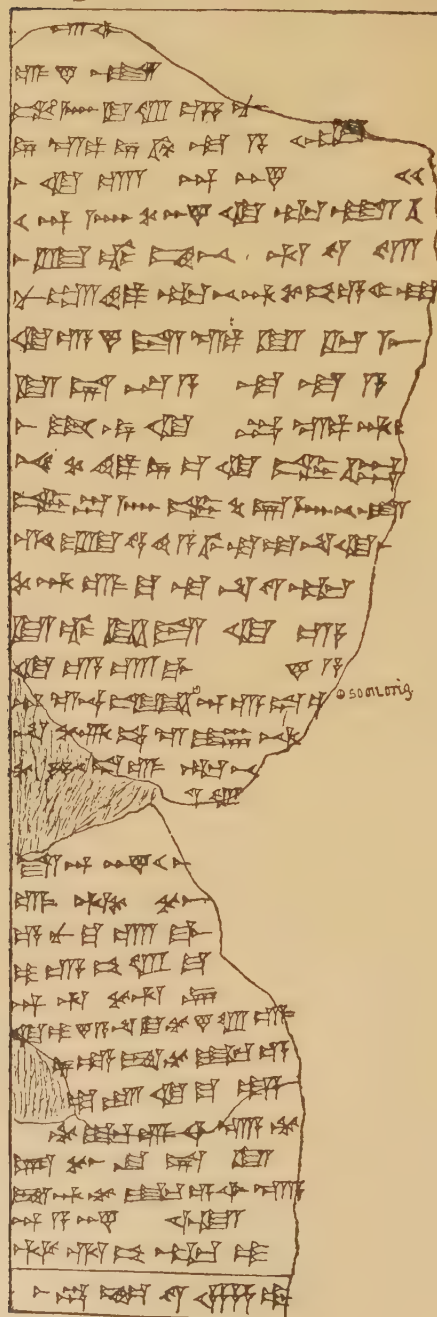
Cylinder C. Column IV.



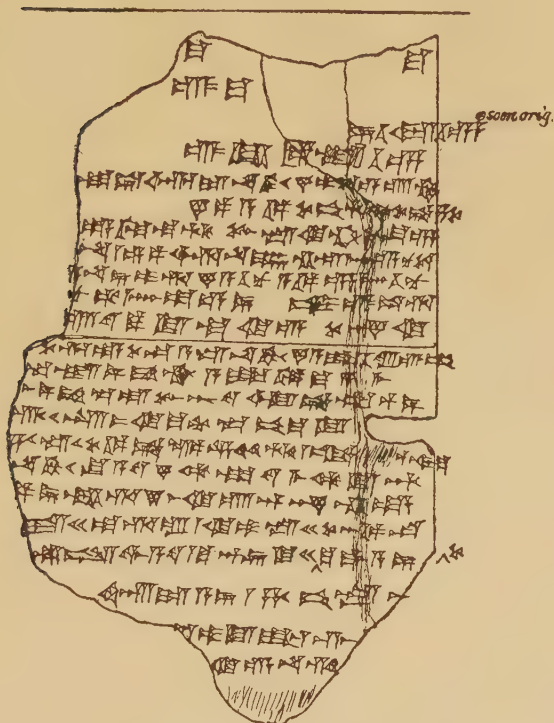
Cylinder C. Column V.



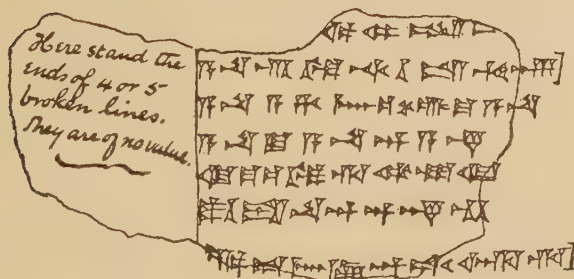
Cylinder C. Column VI.



7⁸⁰/₁₅ 19.



K. 1679.



JEWISH GRAMMARIANS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

BY PROF. MORRIS JASTROW, JR., PH. D.,

University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.

IV.

MENAHĒM BEN SARUK.

When, in the early part of the fourth century, a Babylonian scholar—in the person of R. Zeïra—was for the first time chosen to preside over one of the Talmudical schools of Palestine, that at Zepphoris, it was an indication that the center of rabbinical learning had begun to shift its position. No longer dependent upon the mother-country for their leaders, the academies of Pumbaditha and Sura from being the protégés became the rivals of Jabnê and Tiberias, and when the sceptre passed entirely out of the hands of Judæa, it was held for successive centuries by Babylon. A change, even more momentous in its character, was foreshadowed by the election, referred to in the last article, of Saadia ben Joseph of Fayûm (in upper Egypt) in the early half of the ninth century, to the charge of the academy at Sura. The light which, for want of fuel, languished in the East and finally died out, shot up into a mighty flame in the West.

Menahem ben Saruk was born in Tortosa about the year 910. At the instance of his patron, Hasdai Ibn Shaprut, the powerful minister of Caliph Abdu-l-rahman III., he removed to Cordova, where he must have established a school in which he expounded his theories of Hebrew grammar. In Cordova he seems to have spent the greater part of his life, and it was there that he wrote his *chef-d'œuvre*, the “Mahberet”¹ or Hebrew Dictionary. In contradistinction to Saadia, whose literary efforts embraced so many fields, Menahem, so far as we know, concentrated his energies on classical Hebrew. Although versed in Talmudic lore, as evidenced by the frequent allusions to the “language of the Mishna” in his dictionary, he probably laid no claims to being an authority in this field. His method of reasoning and his manner of writing bear none of those marks which distinguish writers like the famous Rashi, who are strongly under the influence of what we may call the Talmudic spirit, and it is perhaps not going too far to say that, had he been, in those days, a great Talmudist, he would not have been a great grammarian. It is more than likely that he was the author of other works besides his dictionary. We know of some Hebrew poems that he wrote; but with the exception of a Hebrew letter which is of importance for the light it throws

¹ Filipowski, “Mahberet Menahem” (London, 1854).

upon a sad incident in his life, the *Maḥberet* is the only production of his pen that has been preserved. Without doubt, however, it was his most important production; for in it he has deposited the rich stores of his knowledge, and takes occasion to amplify and illustrate his favorite theories of Hebrew grammar. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the work, there are two features connected with it which enhance the interest of the book for us. In the first place, it represents the earliest attempt at a complete vocabulary of biblical Hebrew under a systematic arrangement. Partial lexicographical collections had been made previous to Menahem, as for example, by Jehuda Ibn Koreish, who discussed the words that Hebrew possesses in common with Syriac and Arabic, and also such as occur in the Talmudical literature, and by Saadia, who made a list of the ἀπαξ λεγόμενα of the Old Testament; but no one had as yet attempted a dictionary—in the full and real sense. Secondly, it is worthy of note that while the predecessors of Menahem wrote, as a general thing, in Arabic, the *Maḥberet* is in Hebrew. This fact is in itself an indication of the revival in the study of Hebrew which had taken place, and becomes all the more significant in view of the other writers of this period who followed Menahem's example. Menahem's style has been called "hard." There is no doubt that it has this defect at times, but the difficulty he encountered in adapting a language that does not lend itself readily to technical and didactical writing to his purposes, fully accounts for this and other deficiencies that may be detected, and if we bear in mind that he is a pioneer opening up a quite untrodden path, the ingenuity with which he coins new words for the numerous technical terms required in a grammatical treatise, must call forth our unqualified admiration. So, to choose a few out of a large number of examples that might be given, from the word יסוד which he employs for "root-letter" he forms a verb "to be regarded as a root-letter," or "to enter into a word as a root-letter." In the same way לִשְׁרֵת is used to express that a letter is to be looked upon as an attachment to the root. Again, to distinguish between Dageš-lene and Dageš-forte, he says that the former is לְצַחְצוֹחַ לְשׁוֹן, involves simply a distinction in pronunciation, while the other (לְפִשֵּׁר דְּבַר) affects the interpretation of the word. Of terms already in existence as דָּגֵשׁ, רֶפֶה, שְׁבֵא—so is his way of spelling—he invariably forms denominative verbs and verbal derivatives. He speaks of the many מַעֲלֹת uses of the letter Beth. Such formations as הַמִּשְׁלֵשׁ "composed of three letters," and הַתְּאֵלֶף for "to add an Aleph," are very frequent. It is also true that Menahem's style is sometimes involved; he occasionally has a very roundabout way of saying things; but for all that, his Hebrew is, as a general thing, fluent and at times elegant. His introduction is a beautiful specimen of what may well be called pure Hebrew, built as it is on the best models in the Old Testament.

Before proceeding to the dictionary proper, Menahem elucidates the principles which have guided him in his work. He begins with a division, which is,

however, not original with him, of the letters of the alphabet into *litterae radicales* and *serviles*. He combines the former into a mnemonic phrase ספר גזע צדק which might be rendered "sealed is the book of the righteous sprout," meaning, of course, the Old Testament; and the latter he forms into שמלאכתו בינה "whose work is understanding."¹ He then gives illustrations of the way in which the *serviles* combine with the *radicales*, and here at once the peculiarity as well as the great defect of his grammatical system, becomes apparent. Menahem, of course, recognizes the distinction between the root²-letters and the *radicales*. The *serviles* can be root-letters as well as *radicales*, and the only advantage which the latter possess over the former is that they are used exclusively as root-letters (אין להם מלאכה זולתי ליסוד) whereas the *serviles* may serve either ל'סוד or ל'שרת. Now, as a means of distinguishing in any given case whether a servile letter forms part of the root or not, Menahem sets up the fundamental principle that no portion of the root of a word can ever *disappear* in the course of inflection. Hence all that is required to detect the root of any word is to pick out those letters which are *constant* through all the changes incident to declension, conjugation, the attachment of prefixes and suffixes, and the like, while any letter which, though it be only in a single form of the verb, falls away, is thereby at once shown to be non-essential to the root of the word. The consequences of such a radical principle will occur to every one. The three classes of verbs פ"י, ע"י, ה"י the ע"י fall away entirely. A Hebrew root may consequently consist of three, two or even one letter, and the same root may embrace an endless variety of forms and cover the most incongruous significations. The testimony must be awarded to Menahem of being consistent in carrying out this principle. Thus, since the י of ידע falls away in the infinitive דעת, the י cannot be a root-letter in this case and the root therefore consists simply of דע. For a similar reason the root of יקום, since the י falls away in קם, is קם; of גלה, the root is גל. The root of נצח consists of three letters, because the נ never falls away, but the root of נפל according to Menahem is פל, for the נ does not appear in such forms as יפול. But the root of פלל is likewise פל and the same root also underlies פלה and of course also פול. Upon turning to this root in the Maḥberet we actually find no less than four distinct stems united under one head. So under ען we have ענה, עין, עון, ענן; under עם there are confused together עמם, עים, עמה; and many more might be cited. As already stated, the occurrence of a single form in which, for any reason, an א is dropped, is sufficient to exclude the possibility of regarding the א as one of the root-letters. While,

¹ Donash Ibn Labrat, the subject of our next sketch, has the following combinations רונש ח"ג ק"ץ ספ"ר ע"י and "הלו"י אמת כטוב. Donash the Levite," "truth like goodness," and the sense of which—if indeed any was intended—is very obscure. Such mnemonic combinations were quite the fashion among the writers of this period, each author generally forming his own.

² The distinction between stem and root is unknown to the grammarians of the middle ages; the only word they have is שרש.

therefore, in the case of **אמר**, **אפר**, **ארד**, and many others, the **א** belongs to the root for the reason that in none of the derived forms does it fall away, the root of **וַיִּתְאַבְּכוּ** (Isa. ix. 17) is **בך** because in **נְבוּכִים** (Exod. xiv. 3)—where the **נ** is not radical, since it does not appear in the former word—the **א** has dropped out. Menahem, however, draws a distinction between the pure loss of an **א** in the course of inflection and such instances where the **א** is merely elided. Thus he regards **מִזִּין** (Prov. xvii. 4), **יֵהֵל** (Isa. xiii. 20), **מְרִיבֵת** (Lev. xxvi. 16), **וַתּוֹפְהוּ** (1 Sam. xxv. 24) as contracted forms. But in all such cases the **א** must be counted with the root, because the loss is only an *apparent*, and not a real one, accidental, and not incidental. The root, therefore, of **מִזִּין** is **אזן**, and so of the other examples **אהל**, **אדב**, while that of **וַתּוֹפְהוּ** is **אף** and not **פ** alone, as one might suppose, from the fact that the **א** of **אֶפֶתִי** does not appear in the form. With regard to the **ה** of **אָפָה**, there can, of course, be no doubt, since it regularly falls away in such forms as **יֶאֱפוּ**, **תֵאֱפוּ** and the like. The same distinction applies where the **א** is contracted in the middle of the word, e. g., **צָנָה** (4, 8, 8) the root of which is, notwithstanding the disappearance of the **א**, **צאן**. The **ו** and **י**, finally, follow the analogy of the **א**. So Menahem enumerates **אָמִים** (Job. xxix. 25) not under **אם** but assigns it to a root **אִים**.¹ If, however, an **א**, occupying, according to our ideas, the third place in a triliteral stem, disappears, the loss is regarded by Menahem in every case as a *real* one, and hence the **א** is by that fact debarred from being included in the root. The form **יִמְצָא**, accordingly, is referred to a root **מץ**, because in **מִצְתִּי** (Num. xi. 23) the **א** is wanting, and for a similar reason the root of **תִּמְלָא**—since we have a form, **מִלְתִּי** (Job xxxii. 18)—is **מל**. Here the distinction between accidental and incidental disappearance of a letter is entirely lost sight of, and even the circumstance that the forms **מִצְאָתִי** and **מִלְאָתִי** are met with, the former indeed very frequently, did not apparently rouse Menahem to a recognition of the arbitrariness of a method which entailed, as a consequence, the removal of by far the greater number of stems **לֵ"א** from the language. Indeed an actual count gives only eighteen such stems in the whole *Maḥberet*. But Menahem does not even shrink from drawing the last conclusion to which his theories perforce led him—a conclusion which already to the following generation appeared in so preposterous a light, namely, that the stem (or root) of a word might consist of one single letter. By a strict application of the principle laid down in his preface, he is led through a comparison of the forms **וַהֲתוֹדּוּ אוֹדֶךָ** and **הוֹדּוּ** to fix upon the letter **ך** as the root. What else can the root be, since **ך** is the only letter which these forms have in common. By a similar process **י** is made to fig-

¹ It may be noted in this connection that the few stems—in all about twenty-five—with **Wāw** or **Yōdh** as second radical which Menahem admits are all such where these letters **לֵ"א יַעֲלֶי** "do not in any given case fall away" (except by way of contraction) as **לִיל דּוּב** **אֵיל בֵּין**.

ure as the root of הָזָה (Lev. xiv. 27); מִזָּה (Num. xix. 21); וַיֵּץ (Lev. viii. 11); the ט for לַהֲטֹת (Lam. iii. 35) נָטָה אֶת מַטֵּה (Exod. viii. 12), and so on through eighteen of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet.¹ In the case of some letters it even happens that several distinct stems are thrown together under one head. The above-referred-to ד, besides doing service for what according to our ideas is a stem הִדָּה, also embraces נָדָד and דָּוָד; the ב for בָּת (daughter) and תִּיבָב (Jud. v. 25); the צ for מִצָּה and צִיץ; and more the like.

The arrangement of the dictionary proper is a very simple one. Each root is discussed in sub-divisions—*maḥlākôt*—according to the various significations met with in the forms derived from the root. So the very first root אב has six *maḥlākôt* as follows: (a) father, (b) desire, (c) fresh fruit, (d) bags,² (e) sorcerer, (f) sorrow—a motley array, but if we bear in mind Menahem's principle whereby אב includes אבה, אוב and אבב, perfectly intelligible. The confusion brought about by Menahem's unfortunate principle, though sufficiently great, is not as great as we might be led to expect, and this for the reason that very frequently the various significations assigned to a root, correspond to *distinct* stems. Thus in the above-cited example, all the forms of אבה "desire" are covered by the second division, those of אוב by the fourth and fifth division. On the other hand, in the case of the first division, אב "father" and אביב which Menahem renders as "first, beginning," two different stems are confused together. Again, under the root פל which has six divisions, the stems פול נפל פלה פלל, owing to the distinct signification of each, are very easily kept apart, and found to correspond to the first, second, fourth and sixth division respectively, while the third division gives a second meaning of נפל "giant" and the fifth a derivative of פל viz.: תפלה "prayer." At first sight one might be led to suppose from the neatness of such an arrangement that Menahem was well aware of the fact that he was grouping together stems totally distinct from one another, and that when he speaks of biliteral and uniliteral roots, it is merely for the sake of greater convenience that he admits their existence, but upon closer examination of the *Maḥberet*, it becomes very clear that Menahem, sharing herein the views generally held at that period, not only knows of no distinction, as already intimated, between stem and root, but that for him the second ל of פלל, the נ of נפל, the ה of פלה and the ו of פול were as unessential to the soul of the word as the מ of מפלה or the ו in נפלן, serving, in fact, a similar purpose as the latter—לִשְׁרֵת and not לִיסוֹד—affixed and not root-letters.

If, however, we leave the field of theory and turn to the practical interpretation of the many words, phrases and sentences quoted by Menahem in his diction-

¹ A list of the uniliteral roots is given on pp. 40-41 of Filipowski's edition.

² Menahem's interpretation כִּאֲבוֹת חֲדָשִׁים (Job. xxxii. 19).

ary, we shall find a great deal to admire and much that may still be of service in these days of advanced scholarship. His knowledge of Hebrew is as exact as it is comprehensive; he seems to have the entire Old Testament at his finger's ends, as evidenced by the copious examples he puts forth. His explanations are frequently ingenious without overstepping the bounds of sober conjecture; he has a keen perception for the niceties of Hebrew diction, which betrays itself in the minute discussions into which he at times enters, as well as in the briefer remarks profusely scattered throughout the work. He has above all that *feeling* for language, equivalent almost to a linguistic instinct, which is as essential to the philologist as a good ear to a musician. A few quotations from the dictionary, in further illustration of his methods and his characteristics, may fittingly conclude this sketch.

אֲרִיאֵל. After giving it as his opinion that **אֲרִיאֵל** (Isa. xxxiii. 7), **אֲרִיאֵל** (Isa. xxix. 1, 2) and **וְהָרִיאֵל** (Ezek. xlii. 15) are one and the same word, he continues as follows:

“**Arî'el** is the name of the altar; and the sense of **אֲרִיאֵל חוּצָה** (Isa. xxxiii. 7) is that, at the destruction of the altar called **Arî'el**, they cry and they weep for it; they bewail their sanctuary, they lament their **Arî'el**, they mourn for their altar. The objection which might be raised against this interpretation, that the verbs **צִעְקוּ** and **בָּכוּ** cannot take a direct object, but require the intervention of the preposition **עַל**, is groundless; for Gen. xxxvii. 35, we have **וַיִּבְכּוּ אֹתוֹ**, and similarly **וַיִּבְכּוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-מִשְׁכָּה אֲבִיו** (Deut. xxxiv. 8), **וַיִּבְכּוּ אֶת-** (Num. xx. 29); and the further objection that these verbs require at least an **אֶת** before their object also falls away in view of such passages as **לְסַפֵּד לְשָׂרָה וּלְבִכְתָּהּ** (Gen. xxiii. 2), and **וַיִּצְעֲקוּהָ** (Neh. ix. 28).

“Some scholars, however, are of the opinion that **אֲרִיאֵל** is a contraction for **אֲרָאֵה-לֵם** (‘I appeared unto them’). Now I am well aware that there are quite a number of such instances of two words being contracted into one to be met with in Hebrew; as **נָתַתְּנִי** (Isa. xv. 19) which stands for **נָתַתְּ לִי** (‘thou hast given to me’), **יִצְאֵנִי** (Jer. x. 20) for **יִצְאוּ מִמֶּנִּי**; **אֲחֻזָּה** (Job xv. 17) for **אֲחֻזָּה לָּךְ** (‘I will relate to you’); **וַיִּצְעֲקוּהָ** (Neh. ix. 28) for **וַיִּצְעֲקוּ לָּךְ**; **וּלֹא יָבִלּוּ**; **בִּשְׁלָם** (1 Kgs. xix. 21) for **בִּשְׁלָם לָּהֶם**; **רָבִירוּ** (Gen. xxxvii. 4) for **רָבִיר לָּו**; **אֲנִירָנוּ** (Job xxxi. 37) for **אֲנִיר לָּו**; **חֲנָה לָּךְ** (Ps. liii. 6) for **חֲנָה לָּךְ** (‘encamping against thee’); **יְבוֹאוּ אֵלַי** (Ps. cxix. 77) for **יְבוֹאוּ אֵלַי**, and many more the like. But **אֲרִיאֵל** is certainly not of their number; for apart from the fact that in this case we would naturally expect a vocalization like **אֲרִיאֵלִם**,² an examination of

¹ צחק and זעק being synonyms.

² The passive of **רָאָה**, and not **אֲרִיאֵלִם**, which can, at the most, be an abbreviation of **אֲרָאֵה לֵם**, the active of the verb.

the other passages where the passive of this verb is used with reference to the 'appearance' of the Eternal (Exod. III. 2; Lev. IX. 23; Mal. III. 2), proves that a construction like this is inadmissible." Menahem then enters upon a refutation of a third opinion, according to which אֲרָאֵל is itself compounded of two words and compared with בְּלִימָה (Job XXVI. 7), which some explain as though composed of בְּלִי and מָה "without anything"; לְתַלְפִּיּוֹת (Cant. IV. 4) equal to תֵּל and פִּיּוֹת "mound of edges" (?); and דְּרָאוֹן (Isa. LXVI. 24), decomposed similarly into דָּר and אוֹן "habitation of sorrow." Menahem regards such explanations as a mere idle play on words, and denies absolutely the possibility of compounding words in this way in Hebrew. By a reference to לְבָלוֹם (Exod. XXXII. 9) he shows that בְּלִימָה is a *single* word from a stem בִּלַּם, and דְּרָאוֹן is also one word, synonymous with מִשְׁאוֹת "ruins," while תַּלְפִּיּוֹת is a contraction from תַּאֲלַפִּיּוֹת, as מִלְפָּנוּ (Job XXXV. 11) from מֵאֲלַפָּנוּ, going back to a stem אֲלַף, and, here used in the sense of "instruction" or "guidance." The tower of David to which the poet compares the neck of his beloved, was, it is natural to suppose, very high, so that it could be seen afar off and serve as a guide for travelers and wayfarers. Hence it is appropriately described as בְּנוֹי לְתַלְפִּיּוֹת "built for teaching," i. e., for directing "the dwellers of the land, the villagers and the wanderers."

Consistent with himself, Menahem, rejecting the Talmudical explanation of the puzzling אֲבָרַךְ (Gen. XLI. 43), which makes the word a compound of אֵב and רַךְ "merciful father," takes it as an imperative form of בָּרַךְ in the sense of "bend the knee." With "abarakku," in Assyrian, the attempt to trace the word to Egyptian origin, as is still done in the eighth edition of Gesenius, must of course be abandoned; and it may yet be that scholars, especially those who, like Delitzsch, declare "abarakku" to be a good Semitic word, will go back to the explanation given by Menahem and, following him, by other writers of this and succeeding periods.

Incidental to a discussion of the above-referred-to כְּאֵבוֹת חֲרָשִׁים יִבְקַע (Job XXXII. 19), Menahem calls attention to the *parallelismus membrorum* peculiar to Hebrew poetry and its value in interpreting words that might otherwise be obscure. "The half of the verse," he says, "explains the other half, since the latter but repeats the sense of the former." He quotes the following as examples: Deut. XXXII. 2; Job XXXIX. 15; Cant. IV. 12; Isa. VIII. 13; XXVI. 6; XXVIII. 23; XXXI. 5; XXXIII. 21; XLIII. 16; Hos. VIII. 13; Hab. I. 15. By application of the same principle he concludes that אֵבוֹת in the above passage must mean "bags of wine."

Three times¹ Menahem quotes opinions of Jehuda Ibn Koreish only to refute them. Of these, the most interesting is the one in reference to the phrase וְאֲנִי כְּבֶשֶׂת אֵלֹהִי יִבֹּל לְטֹבוֹחַ (Jer. XI. 19). Menahem renders it "and I am

¹ אֵלֹהִי and אֵיתָן, אֵבֹחַ.

like a great lamb brought to the slaughter.” “But,” he continues, “Jehuda ben Koreish explains כבש אֱלֹוף as though it were כבש ואֱלֹוף and translates ‘like a lamb and ox.’ This necessitates the addition of a ׀ before the second word, and since it is identical, according to Koreish’s opinion, with שֹׁנֵר אֱלֹפִיךָ (Deut. vii. 13), we would also have to insert a ׀ in the latter word between the ל and the פ. Now we have no right whatever to do this, and must content ourselves with explaining words as they stand. Nor can it be claimed that the ׀ is here omitted, as is the case in אֲדָם פֶּטֶדָה וּבְרִיקָתָה (Exod. xxviii. 17), רִאוּבֵן שִׁמְעוֹן לִי וַיְהוּדָה (Exod. i. 2), and the like; for in all these instances—Menahem quotes also Exod. xxvii. 19; xxxix. 13; Deut. xxvii. 19—there is always *one* ׀ at the end of the series, and, besides, even this is only permissible where there are at least *three* objects in juxtaposition, but never where there are only two. Hence the only possible translation of כבש אֱלֹוף is “great lamb.” When treating of Menahem’s great opponent, Donash ben Labrat,* we shall have occasion to refer to the reply which the latter makes in defense of Koreish.

¹ In the next number of *HEBRAICA*.

SOME OBSERVATIONS UPON TIKKUN SOPHERIM.

BY PROF. HENRY M. HARMAN, D. D., LL. D.,

Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa.

The July (1887) number of *HEBRAICA* contains an important article on *תקון סופרים* *correction or emendation of the scribes*, by Rev. Mr. Crane, of Princeton, N. J. The number of passages in the Hebrew Bible said to have been corrected by the scribes is eighteen, running from Genesis to Malachi.

The author gives both what is stated to have been the original text of these passages, and also the present Massoretic reading, upon which he comments, and reaches the following conclusion: "If it be proven that the scribes have, in truth, made one single correction in the original writings in the places designated as *Tikkun Sopherim*, then their whole line of defense must fall to the ground; for it is no longer entitled to the least credence, and the value of each *Tikkun* must be determined solely by the weight of evidence in its favor, in each individual case, totally irrespective of any statements or explanations handed down by personally interested scribes. *Falsus in uno falsus in omnibus* is a well-established principle of legal evidence for determining the credibility of witnesses, and it is equally applicable to the case in hand."

This bears hard on the fidelity of the scribes, and if accepted in all its breadth, it will throw great doubt on the correctness of the Massoretic text, and, indeed, on the Old Testament text in general, as nobody, in that case, can tell how many passages the scribes have altered. We shall give the facts of the case as far as we know them, and then what seem to be the inferences to be drawn from them.

The oldest reference made to passages of the Old Testament as corrected by the scribes, occurs in the *Mechilta*, a commentary embracing a number of chapters of the Book of Exodus, written down in Hebrew in the *first half of the third century*.¹ The passages are found on Exod. xv. 7, and are only eleven in number, in the following order: (1) Zech. ii. 12 (A. V. 8); (2) Mal. i. 13; (3) 1 Sam. iii. 13; (4) Job vii. 20; (5) Hab. i. 12; (6) Jer. ii. 11; (7) Ps. cvi. 20; (8) Num. xi. 15; (9) 2 Sam. xx. 1; (10) Ezek. viii. 17; (11) Num. xii. 12.² Another Jewish work, the *Talkut*, belonging to the *thirteenth century*, gives the same emended passages except number 4 (Job. vii. 20). The *Sifre*, a Jewish commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy, written in the *third century*, gives only *seven* passages as corrected

¹ This is the date assigned by Dr. Weber ("System der Altsyn. Paläst. Theol.," Leipzig, 1880), and about the date assigned to it by Dr. Zunz ("Gottesdienst Vorträge der Juden," pp. 46, 7).

² The passages are given by Rabbi Dr. Abraham Geiger ("Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel," Breslau, 1857, p. 309). This is the date assigned by Dr. Weber ("Altsyn. Paläst. Theol.," Leipzig, 1880, p. 21). In Abraham Geiger, p. 309.

by the scribes, viz., numbers 1, 4, 10, 5, 7 and 11 of the *Mechilta*, without stating what the original reading was. In the *Tanchuma*, a Jewish commentary on the Pentateuch, written in the *ninth*¹ century, the number of the passages stated to have been corrected by the scribes, is considerably enlarged. In Geiger's list we find five emended passages more than we have in the *Mechilta*, making sixteen. These five passages are: Hosea. iv. 7; Job xxxii. 3; Gen. xviii. 22; Lam. iii. 20; 2 Sam. xvi. 12. The Talmudists, according to Dr. Geiger, say but little respecting these emended passages. The reason he assigns is, that the corrected text had not yet obtained authority. In the *Tractat Sopherim*² there is no mention of these passages. "On the contrary, the oldest Massora known to us, found in the manuscript of Odessa of the year 916, contains them. Here the expression Tikkun Sopherim 'correction of the scribes' has become fixed, and the number of passages is definitely given as eighteen. These eighteen passages, which are indicated merely through single words and with which the original reading is not given, correspond for the most part with those of *Tanchuma*, only three of them being wanting, namely, Hosea iv. 7; Lam. iii. 20 and 2 Sam. xvi. 12. On the other hand, one number which contains the passage, 1 Kgs. xii. 16, with its parallel passage, 2 Chron. x. 16, is reckoned as four, as each of them contains two corrections, and two are added, namely, Mal. i. 12, indicated by מַחֲלָלִים, and iii. 8 or 9 by קוֹבְעִים. Finally, the Massora as we read it in our editions, both at the beginning of Numbers and on Ps. cvi. 20, gives also the number of eighteen words which have been corrected by the scribes."³

Here the question arises, *Who* were the scribes that corrected the passages? The *Tanchuma* states that it was done by the men of the *Great Synagogue*, that is, a council of scribes in Jerusalem, consisting of one hundred and twenty members, the period of whose activity extended from Ezra to the death of the high priest Simon (B. C. 196), a period of about two hundred and fifty years.⁴ But it will be remembered that the *Tanchuma*, named from its author, was written in the *ninth* century after Christ, more than a thousand years after the close of the Great Synagogue that is said to have made the changes in the original readings of certain texts. Such a late statement does not appear to us to be worth much. The statement of a Christian writer of the eleventh or twelfth century respecting original readings of passages in the gospels or changes that were made in the *second* century would have but little weight with us. Gutbir inserted in his edition of the Peshitto Syriac New Testament (Hamburg, 1664) the passage containing the three heavenly witnesses (1 John v. 7), and remarks in his critical notes: "Since it is known [sic!] that the Arians spared in this place neither the Greek text itself, nor the oriental versions, we have inserted this verse, wanting in other

¹ The date given by Dr. Zunz ("Gottesdienst Vorträge der Juden," p. 237).

² Written about the *ninth* century it would seem. Dr. Zunz, p. 377.

³ "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel," by Rabbi Abraham Geiger, pp. 311, 312.

⁴ See Talmud *Baba Batra*, and Fürst ("Ueber den Kanon," pp. 21-23).

editions, from the notes of Tremellius." Does any biblical scholar now believe that the original epistle of John contained that verse? We at least hope not. Assertions of this kind are to be received with great caution. Now in regard to the number of the passages of the Old Testament said to have been corrected, there is no uniformity of statement, as we have already seen. Nor in the passage from the *Mechilta* quoted by Geiger¹, is there any mention made of corrections by the Great Synagogue.

Let us now look at the passages said by *Tanchuma* to have been corrected by the Great Synagogue, in the light of the history of the text in those passages, to ascertain, if possible, whether the original text was in fact changed. We begin with Gen. XVIII. 22, "And Abraham was still standing before Yahweh." The original reading is stated to have been, "Yahweh was still standing before Abraham." But we have proof that our present reading goes back to B. C. 330. For the Samaritan Pentateuch has the same order as the Massoretic text, **ואברהם** . . . **לפני יהוה**. The LXX. has the same, 'Αβραὰμ δὲ ἔτι ἦν ἐστῆκας ἐναντίον Κυρίου. The Targum of Onkelos has the same arrangement, " **ואברהם** . . . **קדם** . . . **לפני יהוה** ; also the Peshitto Syriac contains the same position, **ܐܒܪܗܡ** . . . **ܠܦܢܝ ܝܗܘܗ** . In the *Bereshith Rabba*, a commentary on Genesis written in the sixth¹ century, we have the following respecting this passage: "And they went towards Sodom; but Abraham still stood before the Eternal. The latter is, according to R. Simon, a correction of the scribes; (for it cannot be well supposed) that the Shekinah waited for Abraham."² This is the first reference to a correction of this text, and it rests on the statement of R. Simon, who, according to Dr. Zunz,³ lived about A. D. 166, that is about *three hundred and fifty* years after the close of the Great Synagogue; so that, if the text in Genesis was corrected by these men, it must have been done before B. C. 330,⁴ the latest date to which we can assign the Samaritan Pentateuch. The Hebrew manuscripts exhibit no variation of text in the passage.⁵

The next passage in order is Num. XI. 15, "And let me not see *my wretchedness*" (**ברעתי**, emended, it is said, for **ברעתך** *thy evil*). But our present reading is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch, which has **ברעתי**; the LXX., which has **τὴν κάκωσίν μου**; the Peshitto Syriac, which reads **ܠܦܢܝ ܝܗܘܗ** *my wretchedness*; and Onkelos, who renders it **בבִּישַׁתִּי** *my misery*. No Hebrew MS. gives a different reading of the word.⁶ In Num. XII. 12, we have, "Let her not be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out of his mother's womb." In this passage it is alleged that **אמו** *his mother* has been substituted

¹ This is the date assigned to it by Dr. Weber, "Altsyn. Paläst. Theol.," p. xxiii.

² Dr. Aug. Wünsche's German translation of "Bereshith Rabba," p. 233.

³ "Gottesdienst Vorträge," p. 46.

⁴ This is the date assigned to it by De Wette, who is skeptical enough on all these points.

⁵ This is manifest from Doederlein's edition of the Hebrew Bible, accompanied with a large collection of readings from the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi, Leipzig, 1793.

⁶ So far at least as noticed in Doederlein's edition.

for **אִמּוֹ** *our mother*; and **בָּשָׂרוֹ** *his flesh*, for **בָּשָׂרֵנוּ** *our flesh*. But here again our Massoretic text is supported by the Samaritan Pentateuch, and substantially by the LXX., which has “her flesh,” and “womb of mother,” where “her” must be supplied from the context. The Peshitto Syriac has “his mother” and “his flesh.” Here one of Kennicott’s MSS. has **אִמּוֹ**, and another, **אִמִּינוּ**; and two have **בָּשָׂרֵנוּ**, showing that there were different readings of the text in early times. The number of alleged corrections in the Pentateuch—by counting Num. xii. 12, as two—is four; and we see no good reason to believe that our Massoretic text does not give us the original reading.

The next alleged correction in order in the Hebrew Bible, is 1 Sam. iii. 13, the substitution of **לָהֶם** for **לִי**, making the passage read that the sons of Eli “cursed themselves” (i. e., “brought a curse upon themselves”), instead of “cursing me” (that is, God). Here the LXX. reads *κακολογούντες θεὸν reviling God*. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel agrees very well with the Hebrew text, while the Peshitto Syriac has, “His sons were treating with contempt the people” (**ܠܚܝܬܐ**). One of Kennicott’s MSS. reads **לִי** *me*, instead of **לָהֶם** *them*. The original reading here seems to be very doubtful. In the account of the wicked deeds of the sons of Eli, no mention is made of direct blasphemy. We see no good reason to think that the scribes would have changed **לִי** to **לָהֶם** in order to mitigate the crime of Eli’s sons.

“It may be that Yahweh will look upon my affliction” (**בְּעֵינִי**, K^{ri}), 2 Sam. xvi. 12. Buxtorf remarks that “the Massorah in both places¹ quotes this passage; it is also reviewed in the book *Tanchuma*.....but in what word the correction consists they do not explain. The commentators also here make no mention of a correction,”² etc. Now if the original reading was, “It may be that Yahweh will look with *his eye* (**בְּעֵינֹו**) and requite” etc., it is strange that there is in the whole Hebrew Bible no other similar construction as seeing *with* (one) *eye*; but we find the phrase, “With thine eyes (**בְּעֵינֶיךָ**) shalt thou behold” (Ps. xci. 8). And the reading K^{thibh} **בְּעֵינִי** after **רָאָה** is similar to what we find in Gen. xxix. 32, and also in other places, in which **ב** is prefixed to a noun after this verb. If we take the Massoretic reading **בְּעֵינִי** (K^{thibh}) and render it “upon my misery,” giving to **עוֹן** the same sense which Gesenius gives the word in Ps. xxxi. 11, which the context absolutely requires, we shall have no difficulty. The LXX. and the Peshitto Syriac agree well with this rendering, the former having *ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει*, and the latter, **ܠܥܝܢܝܐ** *upon my humiliation*. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel has. “tears of my eye.” In this passage the Hebrew MSS. give a variety of readings both as K^{thibh} and K^{ri}.

“To your tents, O Israel; now see to thine own house, David. So Israel departed unto *their tents*” (1 Kgs. xii. 16). Here the Massoretic text has **לְאַהֲלֵיךְ**

¹ That is where the lists of the words are given.

² Chal. Rab. Tal. Lex., col. 2631.

and אהליי, *to thy tents* and *to his (their) tents*, said to have been corrected for לאלהיך and לאלהיו, *to thy gods* and *to his (their) gods*. In respect to these two words, the Hebrew MSS. present no variation from the Massoretic text. The LXX. reads, "To thy tents," and "to his tents." The Peshitto Syriac has, "*To thy tents. . . . and every one went away to his own town or village* (ܬܝܬܝܢܝܗܘܢ). The Targum, "*To thy village. . . . and to his village.*" The parallel passage to this is found in 2 Chron. x. 16, in which the reading is the same. It seems to me in the highest degree probable that our Massoretic text gives the original reading; for what sense would there be in the children of Israel exhorting each other to abandon Rehoboam and return to their gods? Abandoning Rehoboam did not necessarily imply a revolt from the true God. But to what gods were they to return? Jeroboam had not yet set up the calf (Apis)'worship in Bethel and in Dan. Or was the author of Kings guilty of an anachronism which the scribes kindly corrected through an especial affection for the idolatrous ten tribes and apostates from the temple worship in Jerusalem? Not very likely.

"And, lo, they put the branch to their nose" (Ezek. viii. 17). On this passage Gesenius remarks, under the word זמורה, "In allusion to the custom of the Persians (Parsees), who adore the rising sun, holding in their left hand a bundle of twigs called 'Barsom.'" The context explains the matter. Ezekiel had seen in vision, in the Lord's house, twenty-five men with their backs turned towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east, and they worshiped the sun towards the east. Then the Lord commented on the doings of these men, and said, "And, lo, they put the branch to their nose." As these worshipers of the sun had turned their backs upon the temple of Yahweh, and were adoring the heavenly luminary, how could they be thrusting their myrtle twigs under the nose of Yahweh? In this passage the LXX. expresses the sense in a general way: Ἰδοὺ οὐ αὐτοὶ ὡς μυρτερίζοντες. In the Peshitto Syriac the אַפֶּס of the Hebrew text is represented by "their nostrils;" and in the Targum, by "their nose." Two of Kennicott's MSS. read אַפֶּס.

"My people have changed *their glory* (כבודו) for that which doth not profit" (Jer. ii. 11). Here it is alleged the original was כבודי *my glory*. But the context does not suit this latter reading. The statement of the Massoretic text that God's people had exchanged their glory, i. e., God, honor and prosperity, for that which profiteth not—the idolatrous worship, with its bad consequences—makes good sense. The LXX. has τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ. The Peshitto Syriac, "My people have changed their honor for that which is without profit." The Targum has, "My people have left my service in which I was bringing them honor," etc. One of Kennicott's MSS. has כבודי.

"As they were increased, so they sinned against me; therefore will I change *their glory* into shame" (Hosea iv. 7). Here the original כבודי *my glory* is said to have been altered to the present reading כבודם *their glory*. But the context

shows that our present reading is correct; and it is very unlikely that God would say, "I will change my glory into shame." The LXX. agrees with the Massoretic text, and the Peshitto Syriac has, "They have turned their honor into shame," which is also the reading of the Targum.

"Art thou not from everlasting, O LORD, my God, mine Holy One? We shall not die" (Hab. i. 12). According to *Ianchuma*, as given both by Rabbi Levy¹ and Dr. Geiger,² the original reading of **לֹא נָמוּת** "we shall not die" was **לֹא יָמוּת** "he will not die." The LXX. reads, *οὐ μὴ ἀποθανώμεν*. The Peshitto reads, "That we may not die³ thou art the Lord;" that is, "thou art the Lord, so that we shall not die." "No codex has the reading **תָּמוּת**"⁴ (thou shalt die), that is, **לֹא תָמוּת**. The Massoretic reading makes good sense, "Because thou art the eternal and holy God, we shall be saved." Quite in the same line is the language of Christ, "Because I live, ye shall live also."

"For thus saith the Lord of hosts, After the glory hath he sent me unto the nations which spoiled you; for he that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of his eye," **עֵינִי** (Zech. ii. 8), said to have been corrected from **עֵינִי** *my eye*. But in both readings the reference is to the divine eye, so that the anthropomorphism is not avoided. The LXX. and the Peshitto Syriac have "his eye." Two of Kennicott's MSS. read **עֵינִי** *my eye*.

"Ye said also, Behold, what a weariness is it! and ye have snuffed at (condemned) it, saith the Lord of hosts" (Mal. i. 13). In this passage it is said that **אֹתִי** *me* has been changed into **אֹתוֹ** *it*, after "ye have snuffed at." We, however, see nothing incongruous in our Massoretic text. In the previous verse the Israelites are charged with profaning the name of the LORD by saying that the table (the altar) of Yahweh is polluted, and the fruit thereof, even his meat, is contemptible, and ye have condemned it, (that is, the altar). The LXX. has "I have blown them away," and the Peshitto Syriac, "thou hast blown upon it."⁵

"Why hast thou set me as a mark against thee so that I am a burden to myself" (**עָלַי**), said to have been changed from **עָלֶיךָ** *to thee*, i. e., *a burden to thee* (Job. vii. 20). But the Massoretic reading also in this passage, makes good sense and fits the context. The last part may be rendered, "Why hast thou (God) made me a mark (subject of attack) for thyself so that I am a burden to myself?" The LXX. and the Syriac read, "I am a burden to myself."

"They found no answer, and yet had condemned Job" (Job xxxii. 3). In this passage it is alleged that the original was **הֵאֱלָהֶם** which was changed to

¹ "Chaldäisches Wörterbuch," vol. II., p. 554.

² "Urschrift und Uebersetz.," p. 310.

³ The Peshitto has **לִמְוֹת** evidently a typographical error for **לִמְוֹת** "n'muth."

⁴ Doederlein's ed. Heb. Bib., with readings.

⁵ The unpunctuated text **הִפְחִיתָם** seems to have led astray both the LXX. and the Syriac translators. The first takes it as first person singular, and the latter as second singular, with a pronominal affix.

אִיֹּב and that the text read, "They condemned God." But the context certainly requires the Massoretic reading: "They had condemned Job," and this is the sense both of the LXX. and the Syriac, and the Hebrew MSS. show no deviation from the Massoretic text.

"Thus they changed their glory into the similitude of an ox that eateth grass," (Ps. cvi. 20). In this passage, it is alleged that the original *his glory* **כְּבוֹדוֹ** has been changed into **כְּבוֹדָם** *their glory*. It is true that the worshipers of the golden calf did—so far as men could—change the glory of God into the likeness of an ox, and the Psalmist might have so expressed it, just as Paul says respecting the heathen that they "changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man," etc. (Rom. i. 23). But the Psalmist may have preferred a less direct statement and have written "their glory (i. e. the glorious object of their worship) they turned into the likeness of an ox." In Gen. xxxi. 53 we have an instance of this indirect method of statement: "And Jacob swore by the fear of his father Isaac," that is the Almighty whom Isaac feared. But why should we suppose that the scribes changed the text? If they had scruples about the statement that the glory of God had been turned into the likeness of an ox, why might not the Psalmist have had similar scruples? Both the LXX. and the Syriac have "their glory," from which there is no deviation in the Hebrew MSS.

"My soul hath them still in remembrance, and is humbled in me" (Lam. iii. 20). The change said to have been made in this passage is the substitution of **נַפְשִׁי** for **נַפְשִׁךָ** that is *in my soul* (self) instead of *thyself*. This presupposes that the passage originally had an entirely different meaning from that given in the English Version. "Remember (me) and bow *thyself* down to me," would be the rendering. The LXX. reads: *Καταδολεσχήσει ἐπ' ἐμὲ ἡ ψυχὴ μου*, which favors the Massoretic text. The Peshitto Syriac translates it: "Renew (**חַלַּן**) my soul in me," which presupposes the Massoretic reading in the word under discussion. The Hebrew MSS. give no variation of reading respecting the word. It is not likely that the verb **שָׁח** in the Hiph'il form, with a transitive meaning, was used by Jeremiah to express God's *bowing himself down*. Besides, in the present passage, the word occurs but twice in the Hebrew Bible, viz., in "her house *sinks down* into death" (Prov. ii. 18); and in "our soul *is bowed down* in the dust" (Ps. xlv. 25). When God is called upon to hearken to men's wants, the language is, "Incline thine ear to me," Pss. xvii. 6; xxxi. 3, etc., or "bow the heavens," etc. The Hiph'il of **נָטָה** is used in these passages. No good reason can be assigned for the rejection of the Massoretic reading.

We conclude with the following reflections upon the whole subject:

1. The statement that the scribes, that is, the men of the Great Synagogue (B. C. 444–196), made changes in the original text to remove anthropomorphisms or anthropopathisms, or any unseemly expressions, is not found until *three hun-*

dred and fifty years after the Great Synagogue. The list is not uniform, and the entire number, eighteen, is not given until about *eleven hundred years* after the close of this famous council of Jewish scholars. Besides this, the statement is too indefinite. No unprejudiced Christian scholar would consider statements of a similar character in reference to changes in the New Testament, of any value.

Can any one believe that the men of the Great Council—said to be one hundred and twenty in number—deliberately voted to change what they believed Moses wrote? Their reverence for the *Torah* would have prevented them from altering any well-established reading. Their motto was “Put a hedge about the Law and make disciples.” They were traditionists. Nor do we think they would have changed the language of the prophets in whose inspiration they believed. Various readings, no doubt, existed in different MSS. of the Hebrew Bible long before the time of Christ, and the School of Ezra may have labored in settling the Old Testament text. But were they less scrupulous than their later disciples, the Massorites, who would not correct manifest errors in the text, but simply indicated the corrections by marginal notes? The men of the Great Synagogue and their followers in the subsequent ages, may have made some mistakes, it is true, in their textual criticism.

Is there any good reason to believe that the Christians of antiquity changed any part of what they believed to be the original text of the New Testament? Have the Mohammedans altered their Qoran?

These remarks will have but little weight with those critics who believe that Ezra wrote a part of the Pentateuch, and that Deuteronomy was forged in the name of Moses, seven or eight centuries after that lawgiver; and that various documents entering into the Pentateuch were worked over in the time of Ezra, or at an earlier period. In that case, why did they not throw out the passage in the Pentateuch which represents Aaron, their first great highpriest, as making a golden calf for idolatrous worship? This fact in Aaron’s history, gave the old masters in Israel the greatest amount of trouble.¹ Neither have the scribes expunged from the text the blunder of Moses, nor the crimes of David and Solomon, nor the crimes and idolatries of the Israelitish people in general. Is there any other history in the world that can be compared in point of fidelity to that in the Bible, in which the vices and crimes of the people are so faithfully described by the pen of their own historians and so carefully preserved in their archives to their own infamy? Well did Sir Isaac Newton remark that he found more sure marks of truth in the Bible than in any profane book whatever.

2. Passages of an anthropomorphic and of an anthropopathic character in the Hebrew Bible have certainly been allowed by the scribes to stand. Thus we have, “They heard the voice of the LORD God walking in the garden” (Gen. III. 8); “He (God) kept him as the apple of his (God’s) eye” (Deut. XXXII. 10); “He

¹ See Weber’s “System Altsyn. Paläst. Theol.,” pp. 264-6.

runneth upon him, even on his neck, upon the thick bosses of (the Almighty's) buckler" (Job xv. 26); "And it repented the LORD that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart" (Gen vi. 6). If such expressions as these, and others that might be named, the scribes have allowed to stand, it is not likely that they would have modified others that were not more offensive.

3. The principle, *false in one, false in all*, cannot be safely applied, either in regard to human testimony or written documents. A witness may be unreliable in matters in which the truth militates against his own interests, while in other cases in which his self-interest is not affected, his testimony may be believed. A man may be insane on one subject and perfectly sane on all others. So far as pertains to the Old Testament scribes, it seems clear that they were too conscientious to make changes that would diminish Israel's disgrace or augment his honor. In matters pertaining to the Deity, a zeal for his glory might be supposed to lead them to suppress what they thought derogatory to his character in the representations of his actions given in Hebrew history. But we see no proof that anything of the kind was ever done. *Pious* fraud had no place among the ancient Hebrews.

EGYPTIAN NOTES.

BY PROF. J. G. LANSING, D. D.,

New Brunswick, N. J.

I. BASHMURIC.

The three different dialects of the Coptic language are called the Saidic, the Memphitic and the Bashmuric. The Saidic, as the name indicates, was the dialect of Upper or Southern Egypt. The Memphitic, as the name also indicates, was the dialect of the district of Memphis. The Bashmuric dialect was the dialect of the Delta, especially the Eastern Delta. But the origin of the term *Bashmuric* is not so evident as the names in the other two cases. There is no place in the Delta by the name of Bashmur, or anything like it, to account for the origin of Bashmuric as applied to this dialect of the Coptic. This has been investigated and tested. The following is proposed, however, as furnishing perhaps a more satisfactory derivation and explanation of the term Bashmuric.

Pass along the Delta in early spring, or when vegetation has nicely started. The owners of flocks and herds are going forth with them. Inquire of them where they are taking their flocks and herds. They reply نَبَشْمُرُهُمْ = "Nabash-murahum;" that is, *to pasture them*. The نَ = "na," is the Arabic prefix for the first person plural. The هُمْ = "hum," is the Arabic suffix for the third person plural. This leaves the word بَشْمُر = "Bashmur." The بَ = "ba," is the Bashmuric or Coptic definite article Π I or Π. We have left, then, the noun شَمَر = "shamar," which means *pasture, shepherding place*. The word is still applied to the pasturing fields and plains of the Eastern Delta to-day. This throws light upon the origin of the shepherds and inhabitants of the Eastern Delta. They were descendants of the Hyksos, the Arabian shepherd kings. Confirmatory of this we find far more Semitic words in the Bashmuric than in the other Coptic dialects. Does not the Coptic and Arabic شَمَر = "shamar," *to pasture, shepherd*, give also some added light and force to the corresponding Hebrew שָׁמַר ?

II. THE EGYPTIAN NAME OF JOSEPH.

The Egyptian name given to Joseph by Pharaoh, as recorded in Gen. xli. 45, has received the following transliterations and interpretations:—

Hebrew: צִפְנַת פַּעֲנֵחַ = “Safnath Paanaah.”

Septuagint: Πονθομφανήχ = “Psonthomphanek.”

Vulgate: “Salvator Mundi Savior of the World.” So others.

Coptic: ⲫⲟⲛⲑⲟⲩⲙ ⲫⲉⲛⲏⲕ = “Psonthom Phanek.”

Targum, Syriac, and Others: “A Revealer of Secrets.”

Gesenius: “The Supporter or Preserver of the Age.”

Others: “The Food of Life,” or “of the Living.”

Renouf and Budge: “t’eft-ent-pa-anχ” = “Store-house of the House of Life.”

Brugsch: “Governor of the District of the Place of Life.”

For convenience sake we may begin at the end of the name, going backwards.

1st. “Paanχ.” As the Hieroglyphic and Coptic show, and as nearly all are agreed, the last or second part of Joseph’s name, פַּעֲנֵחַ, was, in the old Egyptian, “pa anχ.” “Pa,” as shown by the Coptic, is here the masculine definite article “the,” the Coptic ΠΙ or Π. “Anχ” is “life” or “living one.” Brugsch, in this connection, in his *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. II., p. 265, makes it “life.” But in *Records of the Past*, Brugsch translates, in a Delta inscription of the time of the Hebrews, the same expression “pa anχ,” as “the Living One,” and refers it to God. And so, with good reason, we would render it here. We have the corresponding Hebrew expression in אֵלֹהִים and סֶפֶר חַיִּים.

2d. נַת = “nath” in Safnath. The old Egyptian was “ent.” So Renouf, Budge, and others. The Coptic has preserved for us the force and significance of this old Egyptian word or particle “ent.” The Coptic is ἸΤΕ = “ente,” and signifies the particle “of,” or “of” the sign of the Genitive case or construct state. So it is used not only in Coptic but in old Egyptian inscriptions. In the Hieroglyphic this particle was used between a noun and a verb. In the Coptic it is used between two nouns. This old Egyptian “ent” throws light upon, or perhaps indicates something as to, the origin of the Hebrew אֵת; e. g., Gen. iv. 1, “I have gotten me a man” אֵת = “of,” not מֵן = “from” (A. V.), or עִם = “with” (R. V.).

3d. sf = "Saf," not "Zaph," as in the A. V. There has been more discussion in regard to the meaning of this part of the name. But upon examining the Hieroglyphic Lexicon or Vocabulary of Pierret, it is strange to see how there can be any doubt as to the word and its meaning. Pierret gives as follows:—

and = "sefi," "sif" =
"child," "son," etc.

= "2 fils," "2 sons," and =
"sef-sen."

= "xeb," corresponds, in the Rhind papyrus, to $\tilde{a} k$ =
"sa" = "filius," "son."

The precise correspondence between the old Egyptian "Sef," "Sefi," "Sif," and this Hebrew sf , as the first part of the old Egyptian name of Joseph, is evident. "Saf," therefore, means "son;" and the old Egyptian name of Joseph means, therefore, "Son of the Living One," i. e., God.

OLD TESTAMENT PASSAGES MESSIANICALLY APPLIED BY THE ANCIENT SYNAGOGUE.

BY REV. B. PICK, PH. D.,

Allegheny City, Pa.

V.

ISAIAH.

LIII. 4. See under Gen. XLIX. 10.

— 5. “But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed.” See under LII. 13.

“But he was wounded,” etc. Rav Huna said, in the name of Rabbi Acha: The sufferings are divided into three parts,—one for David and the Patriarchs; one for the generation of the destruction (i. e., for Israel in the exile); and one for the Messiah, of whom it is said, “Yet have I set my king” (Ps. II. 6).—*Yalkut* in loco.

— 6. “And the Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.”

The congregation of Israel said to the Holy One, blessed be he! Lord of the universe! for the sake of the Law, which thou hast given to me, and which is called a source of life, shall I ever enjoy thy light? What is the meaning of “in thy light shall we see light” (Ps. XXXVI. 9)? It denotes the light of the Messiah; as it is said, “And God saw the light, that it was good” (Gen. I. 4). This teaches that the Holy One, blessed be he! had already respect to the generation of the Messiah and to his works, before the creation of the world, and that he preserved that first light under the throne of his glory for the Messiah and his age. Satan pleaded before the Holy One, blessed be he! and said: Lord of the universe, for whom is the light preserved under the throne of glory? The Holy One answered: For him who is to overthrow and to shame thee. Satan said: Let me see him! The Holy One said: Come and see him! When he saw him he trembled and fell upon his face and said: Yes, truly, that is surely the Messiah who will throw me and all idolatrous nations into hell; for it is said, “He will swallow up death in victory; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces” (Isa. XXV. 6). In that hour the nations gathered together and said before the Holy One, blessed be he! Lord of the universe, who is he in whose hands we are to fall? What is his name? What is his nature? The Holy One replied: Ephraim, Messiah, my righteousness—is his name; he exalts his light and that of his generation,

and gives light to the eyes of Israel, and redeemeth his people. No nation or tongue can stand before him; for it is said, "The enemy shall not exact upon him, nor the son of wickedness afflict him" (Ps. LXXXIX. 22). All his enemies and adversaries shall fear him and go back before him; as it is said, "And I will beat down his foes before his face" (v. 23). Even the streams will run before him into the sea; as it is said, "I will set his hand also in the sea, and his right hand in the rivers" (v. 25). When they flew, the Holy One, blessed be he! began to stipulate with him (the Messiah). He said to him: The sins of those who are treasured up beside thee will bring thee under a yoke of iron, and make thee like this calf, whose eyes are dim, and will torment thy spirit with unrighteousness; and because of transgression thy tongue will cleave to the roof of thy mouth. Dost thou accede to this? Messiah rejoined before the Holy One, blessed be he?—Lord of the universe, perhaps this trouble is for many years? The Holy One, blessed be he! replied: By thy life and the life of thy head, a week have I decreed upon thee (Dan. ix. 27). If it grieve thy soul, I will expel or afflict thee now. He replied before him: Lord of the universe, with heartfelt gladness and with heartfelt joy I take this upon myself, on condition that not one of Israel shall perish; and that not only those that are alive shall be saved in my days, but also those that are hid in the dust; and not only the dead shall be saved in my days, but also those dead who died from the time of the first Adam until now; and not these only, but also those who have been prematurely born; and not only these, but also all that are in thy mind to create and have not yet been created. Thus I consent, and on these terms I take this office upon myself.—*Yalkut on Isaiah* LX. 1.

LIV. 5. "For thy Maker is thine husband."

"This month shall be unto you" (Exod. xii. 2); this is like unto a king who, at his betrothal, consigns to his bride only a few gifts. But when he married her he consigned to her so many gifts as is becoming a husband. In the same manner, this world is a bride, as it is said, "And I will betroth thee unto me for ever" (Hos. ii. 19); but he only gave to them the moon, as it is said, "This month shall be unto you." But in the days of the Messiah they will be married, as it is said, "For thy Maker is thine husband;" and then he will give them everything, as it is said, "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as stars for ever and ever" (Dan. xii. 3).—*Midrash on Exodus* xii. 22, sect. 15.

— 11. "Behold, I will lay thy stones with fair colors, and lay thy foundations with sapphires."

On the words, "This month shall be unto you" (Exod. xii. 2), the Midrash remarks that, in the future, God will make ten new things. The fifth is that Jerusalem will be built with sapphires, as it is said, "Behold, I will lay," etc.,

and "I will make thy windows of agates, and thy gates of carbuncles, and all thy borders of pleasant stones" (Isa. LIV. 12). And these stones will shine like the sun, and the nations of the world will come and rejoice in the glory of Israel, as it is said, "And the gentiles shall come to thy light" (*ibid.*, LX. 3). —*Midrash on Exodus* XII. 2, sect. 15.

LVII. 16. "For the spirit should fail before me, and the souls which I have made."

Rabbi Hiya, the son of Tanchum, or as others say, in the name of Rabbi Yochanan, interpreted our passage thus: King Messiah shall not come till all the souls are brought into existence which were included in the divine plan at the creation. And these are the souls which are indicated in the book of the first man; for it is said, "This is the book of the generation of Adam" (Gen. v. 1).—*Midrash on Koheleth or Ecclesiastes* I. 6; *on Genesis* v. 1, sect. 24; *Talm. Yebamoth*, fol. 62, col. a; fol. 63, col. 2.¹

LIX. 15. "Yea, truth faileth; and he that departeth from evil maketh himself a prey."

We have the teaching, Rabbi Judah said, in the generation in which the Son of David shall come, the house of assembly will be for fornication, and Galilee shall be in ruins, and Gaban laid waste; and the men of Gabul shall go from city to city, and shall find no favor. And the wisdom of the scribes shall stink, and they that fear sin shall be despised, and the face of that generation shall (shamelessly) be as that of a dog; truth shall fail, as it is said, "Yea, truth faileth." What is the meaning of "Yea, truth faileth"? Those of the house of Rav say that she shall be made into droves (i. e., divided among opposing schools or parties), and thus go away. What is the meaning of "He that turns from evil will be regarded as a fool"? Those of the house of Rabbi Shilah say, Everyone that departeth from evil shall be counted a fool by the world.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 1; cf. also *Midrash on Song of Solomon*, 2:13.

— 16. "And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor."

Rabbi Yochanan said, "The Son of David will come only in a generation which is either wholly guiltless or wholly guilty; for concerning the former it is written, "Thy people shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land forever" (Isa. LX. 21), and concerning the latter it is written, "And he saw that there was no man," etc., and it is added, "For mine own sake, even for mine own sake, will I do it" (Isa. XLVIII. 11).—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 98, col. 1; *Yalkut in loco*.

— 17. "For he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation

¹ In the latter passages it reads "Son of David."

upon his head; and he put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak."

"He hath clothed me with the garments of salvation" (Isa. LXI. 10). There are seven garments which the Holy One, blessed be his name! has put on since the world began, or will put on before the hour when he will visit with his wrath the godless Edom. When he created the world he clothed himself in honor and glory; for it is said, "Thou art clothed with honor and glory" (Ps. CIV. 1). When he showed himself at the Red Sea he clothed himself in majesty; for it is said, "The Lord reigneth; he is clothed with majesty" (Ps. XCIII. 1). When he gave the law he clothed himself with might; for it is said, "Jehovah is clothed with might, wherewith he hath girded himself" (Ps. XCIII. 1). As often as he forgave Israel its sins he clothed himself in white; for it is said, "His garment was white as snow" (Dan. VII. 9). When he punishes the nations of the world he puts on the garments of vengeance, as it is said, "He put on the garments of vengeance for clothing, and was clad with zeal as a cloak" (Isa. LIX. 17). He will put on the sixth robe when the Messiah is revealed. Then will he clothe himself in righteousness; for it is said, "For he put on righteousness as a breastplate, and an helmet of salvation on his head" (*ibid.*). He will put on the seventh robe when he punishes Edom. Then will he clothe himself in red; for it is said, "Wherefore art thou red in thine apparel?" (Isa. LXIII. 2). But the robes with which he will clothe the Messiah will shine from one end of the world to the other; for it is said, "As a bridegroom who is crowned with his turban, like a priest" (Isa. LXI. 10). And the sons of Israel will rejoice in his light, and will say, Blessed be the hour when the Messiah was born; blessed the womb which bore him; blessed the eyes that were counted worthy to see him. For the opening of his lips is blessing and peace; his speech is rest to the soul; the thoughts of his heart confidence and joy; the speech of his lips pardon and forgiveness; his prayer like the sweet-smelling savor of a sacrifice; his supplications holiness and purity. O, how blessed is Israel for whom such a lot is reserved; for it is said, "How great is thy goodness which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee" (Ps. XXXI. 19).—*Pesikta* (ed. Buber), p. 149, col. 1.

- 19, 20. "So shall they fear the name of the Lord from the west, and his glory from the rising of the sun. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him. And the Redeemer shall come to Zion, and unto them that turn from transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord."

Rabbi Jochanan said: If thou seest a generation whose prosperity is gradually diminishing, look out for him (i. e., the Messiah); for it is said, "And the afflicted people thou wilt save" (2 Sam. XXII. 28). If thou seest a generation

overwhelmed with great calamities as with a flood, look out for him; for it is said, "When the enemy," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 97, col. 2.

- LX. 1. "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

Targum: Arise, shine, O Jerusalem, for the time of thy redemption is come, and the glory of the Lord is revealed upon thee.

If you are careful in observing the lighting the lamps, I will let shine for you a great light in the future, as it is said, "Arise, shine; for thy light is come."—*Midrash on Numbers* VIII. 2, sect. 15.

- 2. "For, behold, the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people; but the Lord," etc.

A Sadducee once asked Rabbi Abuhu, When will Messiah come? He replied, When darkness will cover your people. Why dost thou curse me? asked the other. The Rabbi answered, The Scripture says, "For behold, the darkness shall cover," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1.

God will bring darkness over the nations; but to the Israelites he will give light; as it is said, "For behold, the darkness," etc.—*Midrash on Exodus* x. 23, sect. 14.

- 3. See under LIV. 11.

- 21. See under LIX. 16.

- LXI. 5. "And strangers shall stand and feed your flocks; and the sons of the alien shall be your ploughmen," etc.

A teacher of Elijah's school said: Once I went from place to place, and I found an old man who said to me, What will become of the nations of the world in the days of the Messiah? I said to him, My son, every nation and every kingdom that had persecuted and mocked Israel shall see the blessing of Israel, and shall return to their dust and have no share in life; for it is said, "The wicked shall see it and be grieved" (Ps. CXII. 10). But every nation and every kingdom that did not persecute and mock Israel will come in the days of the Messiah; for it is said, "And strangers shall stand," etc.; but "ye shall be named the priests of the Lord" (Isa. LXI. 6).—*Yalkut on Exod.* XII. 48.

- 10. See under LIX. 17.

- LXIII. 2. See under LIX. 17.

- 4. "The day of vengeance is in my heart," etc.

Rabbi said: [The days of the Messiah will be] 365 years, according to the number of the days of the sun; for it is said, "The day of vengeance is in my heart, and the year of my redeemed is come."—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col. 1.

See also under Ps. xc. 15.

Rabbi Saul, of Nava, said, in the name of Rabbi Simeon: If someone asks

thee, when the time of redemption comes, reply, "The day of vengeance is in my heart." Thus it is written.—*Midrash on Ecclesiastes* XII. 10.

- 16. "For thou art our father; for Abraham has not known us, and Israel acknowledges us not; thou, O Lord, art our father, our redeemer of old is thy name."

Rabbi Samuel, the son of Nachmani, said, in the name of Rabbi Jonathan: What is the meaning of, "For thou art our father," etc.? In the Messianic future, the Holy One, blessed be he! will say to Abraham, Thy children have sinned. He will reply: Let them be blotted out, by reason of the holiness of thy name. The Lord will then say: I will address myself to Jacob, who, having experienced trouble in rearing his children, will perhaps intercede for them. He said to them, Thy children have sinned. He replied, Let them be blotted out, by reason of the holiness of thy name. He will say, There is no rationality in old people, and no counsel in young ones. He will then say to Isaac, Thy children have sinned. He will then reply, What! My children and not thine? When, in their eagerness, they said, "We will do and hear," thou didst call them, "Israel is my first-born son" (Exod. iv. 22); and now they are my children and not thine! What is the extent of their transgression? How many are the years of man? Seventy, take off twenty, during which no punishment is inflicted,¹ and there remain fifty. Take off twenty-five more that are spent in sleep, and there remain twenty-five. Take off half of these for the time spent in prayer, eating and relieving nature, and there remain twelve and a half. These few years of sin, if thou wilt bear them alone, well; if not, let half be borne by me, and half by thee. Or shouldst thou say that I am to bear them all alone, behold, I have offered myself sacrificially unto thee. At this they will say (to Isaac), "Thou art our father." But Isaac will say, Instead of praising me, praise the Holy One, blessed be he! They will then raise their eyes on high, and say, "Thou, O Lord, art our father, our redeemer of old is thy name."—*Talm. Shabbath*, fol. 89, col. 2.

- LXIV. 4. "Neither hath the eye seen, O God, beside thee."

Rabbi Yochanan said: All the prophets prophesied only with reference to the days of the Messiah; but as regards the world to come, "Eye hath not seen, O God, beside thee," etc.—*Talmud Sanhedrin*, fol. 99, col 1.

¹ Only those who were above that age died in the wilderness (Num. xiv. 29).

THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTION IN THE TUNNEL OF NEGUB.

BY HUGO WINCKLER, PH. D.,

Berlin, Germany.

In a tunnel in the neighborhood of Negub, on the Zab river, Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, I. 81, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 616) found a slab upon which an inscription was engraved. The text has been published by him in his *Inscriptions*, plate 35, but in a very mutilated condition. It would be impossible to make anything out of the inscription if a recent find did not give the necessary material.

Brit. Mus. 81-6-7. 219 (seal of Esarhaddon) contains the following (only concocted¹) genealogy of Esarhaddon:

- 8. Aššûr-âhî-iddin-na, etc.
- 27. apal Sin-âhî-ir-ba, etc.
 apal Šam-ukîn, etc.
- 29. li-ip-li-pi da-ru-u ša Bîl-ib-ni apal
 A-da-si šar mâtu Aššûr ki
- 30. pir'u Pal. Bî. KI (Aššûr) Šû-ku-ru ? ? —
 u-tu ki-šit-ti ša-a-ti.

K. 2801 Aššûr-âhî-iddina

 apal Sin-âhî-ir-ba apal Šam-ukîn, etc.
 lib-lib-bi šarrû-ti ša Bîl-BA (ibni or ibuš
 or bani) šar
 mâtu Aššûr ki ki-šit-[ti ša-a-ti] Pal. Bî.
 KI. (Aššûr).

A. H. 82: 7-14 no number (cylinder of Saosduchinos).

 Šamaš-šum-ukîn.... apal Aššûr-âhî-iddina..... TUR. TUR (liplipi) Sin-âhî-irbâ, etc..... lip-pal-pal Šarru-ukîn etc..... šarru-u-ti da-ru-u ša Bîl-ba-ni (sic!) apal A-da-si pir'u Pal. Bî. KI. (Aššûr).

This genealogy was concocted only during the reign of Esarhaddon.¹ It was to give the Sargon dynasty, which had simply usurped the throne, the necessary line of ancestors: for Bîl-bani and Adasi must be looked upon as the ancestors of a dynasty which ruled in primeval times.² A similar statement is never found

¹ See the introduction to my edition of the Sargon inscriptions, which will soon leave the press.

² I hope to speak more fully of this upon another occasion.

before the time of Esarhaddon. This gives us a clew as to who the builder of the tunnel of Negub was, for on the fifth line of the inscription the name A-da-si can be clearly made out. Before that we must read Bîl-BA (= ibni, bani). According to the above it becomes probable that the inscription is the work of Esarhaddon. His name, it is true, is now lost: but at the end we must certainly read apal Sin-âhî [irbâ], so that there can be no doubt as to the author of the inscription.

I shall now give the transcription and translation of what I have reconstructed from the publication of Layard.

- L. 3. apal Sin-âhî [irbâ]
 4. Šarru rabû šarru] dan-nu šar kiššati
 Šar mâtu Aššûr apal Šarru-ukîn šar
 mâtu Aššûr šakkanak Ka-dingir-KI.
 (Babili) šar I'mî. [Ku. (Sumfri) u Akkadi
 5. ? li-ip-li-[pi] Bîl-BA
 (ibni) apal A-da-si šar mâtu Aššûr
 Ki-šitti [ša-a-ti.....
 6. ħirîtu bu-tuk(?) -ti ša Aššûr
 našir-apli rubû a-lik pa-[na.....
 7. iš-]tu ki-rib nâru Zaban fli
 ta-mir-ti âlu Kal-ĥi- ušahru-u ?.....

Translation: Esarhaddon....son of Sennacherib, the great, the powerful king, king of the hosts, king of Assur, son of Sargon, king of Assur, suzerain of Babylon, king of Sumir and Accad.....(of the) descendants of Bil-ibni, son of Adasi, king of Assur....?

6. A canal and tunnel which Asur-našir-pal, a prince who lived before my time, had caused to be dug from the bed of the Zab to the reservoir of Kalĥi.....

The remark of Layard (*loc. cit.*) that the whole intention of the builder was to lead the water of the Zab to Nimrud (Kalĥi) or to the surrounding plain, agrees exactly with the contents of the inscription.

➤CONTRIBUTED NOTES.◀

Mr. Crane on Tikkun Sopherim.—Mr. Crane, in writing on the Tikkun Sopherim, should have known that in my "Prolegomena Critica in Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum," pp. 87, 88, I have gathered together all the literature upon that subject. He must know at least of Geiger's "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel." From the great work of Ch. D. Ginsburg, "The Massora compiled from Manuscripts," vol. II. (London, 1883), p. 710, he could have learned that among the Massorites themselves differences about the סופרים existed.

HERMANN L. STRACK,
Berlin.

Pronunciation of יהוה.—Concerning the original pronunciation of the divine name יהוה, the writer has been accustomed to instruct his classes as follows: Though the original vowels belonging to יהוה are nowhere given in the Old Testament, a contracted form of the name, which has vowels, exists, at the close of certain proper names, עֲזַרְיָהוּ, אֲמִצְיָהוּ, יִשְׁעִיָּהוּ, etc. In the case of other words, a similar contracted ending represents an uncontracted original form, having vowels as well as consonants, as;—יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, Exod. xxxiv. 8; Josh. v. 14, et. al., יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, Gen. xviii. 2, et. al., for יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, 2 Sam. xv. 32, et. al. Assuming that similar contracted forms proceed from corresponding uncontracted forms, יהי must represent an original יהוה; or, allowing ה to close the first syllable יהוה. Cf. the form יה found in Ps. lxxviii. 5, and elsewhere. To recapitulate—יהוה contracts to יהי in עֲזַרְיָהוּ, etc. יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה contracts to יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה; hence יהוה or יהוה is the *voweled* original.

CHARLES RUFUS BROWN,
Newton Centre, Mass.

The de Sarzec Inscriptions.—The following interesting summary is taken from a dissertation (for the doctorate) prepared by Ira M. Price, Ph. D., Morgan Park, Ill., and presented to the Philosophical faculty, University of Leipsic:

"M. Ernest de Sarzec entered upon official duty as consul of the French government at Bosrah in January, 1877. He had had the advantage of experience in desert life—several years in Egypt and in Abyssinia. In Egypt, especially, he had acquired a fondness for the study of antiquities. His new position in the midst of the empires of the past, in the midst of the ruins of the almost fabulous civilizations of 3000 years ago, fanned this flame into action, and pushed him out into the fields of treasures. His zeal and true devotion to the interests of science, and most of all his indomitable energy in pushing to realization his cherished hopes, set a most worthy example before the consuls of all civilized, all enlightened and educated peoples. The beginning of the discoveries was

almost contemporaneous with his arrival in the country. Within two months, he began his expedition into lower Chaldea. From March 5th to June 11th, 1877, he conducted his first campaign. February 18th to June 9th, 1878, marked his second tour. Upon his return to Paris in July, 1878, the exhibition of his discoveries aroused great enthusiasm and he was again sent to Bosrah. A third trip was made in January, 1880, and continued three months, during which time some of his most important discoveries were made. He undertook a fourth campaign November 12th, 1880, to March 15th, 1881. On his return to France in May, 1882, he was made 'Correspondent de l'Institut de France,' and the fruits of his discoveries were deposited in the Louvre. It was also, at once, decided to publish the results of these excavations for the benefit of scholars at large.

"The point of M. de Sarzec's excavations lay in Chaldea, at Tello, about three or four days from Bosrah, about sixty miles north of Mugheir, forty-five miles east of Warka, and five east of Hatt-el-Hai, a canal connecting the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. The ruins, or hills, of Tello are about four miles long, located in the midst of a morass which owes its origin to the numerous branches of this canal. In this hill, Tello, which Rassam once visited, near the north-west end, de Sarzec made his most important discovery. He lay bare a temple, whose outer wall presents the form of a parallelogram about 175 feet long, by 100 broad. The angles point toward the four points of the compass, contrary to the position of the pyramids of Egypt, whose sides occupy this position. This temple, as those of Chaldea and Babylonia in general, was found to stand on a mound sixteen to twenty feet high. The outer wall is five feet thick, built of bricks one foot in length and breadth, cemented together with bitumen, and bearing the inscription or name, *Gu-de-a*. After exposing the walls, de Sarzec pushed his way through the doors and windows into this structure. The first room into which he entered has a basal measure of 55×65 feet. In this room he found nine headless statues of dioryte, a large number of fragments of vases, and remnants of various other kinds of Chaldean art. In the entire palace he found thirty-six rooms of different forms and sizes. In most of them something of real interest was discovered. Especially noteworthy was a discovery, made here in 1877, of two terra-cotta cylinders, each twenty-four inches in length by twelve inches in diameter. Each of these remarkable cylinders contains about 2000 lines of inscriptions.

"The inscriptions included in the discoveries of de Sarzec are of several kinds. They evidently belong to quite different periods of history. Of those published in 'Découvertes en Chaldée,' Livraison I, plate 2, Nos. 1 and 2 exhibit a very rude specimen of writing, rather hieroglyphic than cuneiform. Plates 3 and 4 give us a better style, not so rude, but still preserving the general outline of the same signs that can be seen on plate 2. On plate 7, No. 2, enlarged on plate 8, is found a very bold linear form of writing, exhibiting some very ancient forms, e. g. < in an original O. In the so-called Gudea-inscription, plates 16-19, the style of writing has reached an artistic nicety. The lines which characterize the other inscriptions just mentioned, are beginning in a few cases to give way to a narrow wedge. In the small inscriptions of plate 29, the wedge is distinctly seen, especially in No. 1. Further, all these forms of writing, from the rudest down to the most artistic, let us into the secret of the origin of a large

number of signs, whose original form and meaning hitherto has been enveloped in uncertainty.

"From a disregard of the question of the direction of writing and reading, the question of the origin of the signs has in the past been forced to carry double difficulties. From the discoveries of de Sarzec the original direction of writing and reading may be considered as settled beyond a question. The attempt to explain the origin of the signs, by taking them in the positions in which we find them in the later Babylonian and Assyrian, as read from left to right, meets with failure in almost every case. On this ground Houghton set forth his explanations, rather guesses, of a large number of signs. In several of his solutions he resorted to a method which should have set him on the right track, viz.: that of setting the signs upright. To a close observer there had been abundant evidence of this primitive direction of writing and reading long before de Sarzec's discoveries. In the works of Dorow and Ker Porter are found figures of seals with inscriptions in these early characters. The lines of writing read, as in de Sarzec, downwards. This is distinctly shown by the position of the mythical figures at their sides. The perpendicular lines also progress from right to left, as do the Semitic languages in general (except Ethiopic). The language of the inscriptions is the so-called Sumerian or Akkadian, in its very earliest forms. It is further, as distinguished from later productions, unilingual. It is written in what seems to be purely ideographic characters, with no trace whatever of what are called dialectical differences. A large number of very small inscriptions in the same language are found in I R. 1-5; also, the unilingual inscriptions of Hammurabi, the language on many of the seals in the magnificent catalogue of the collection of de Clercq, several published seals of the British Museum, and many of the tablets published by Strassmaier, belong to about the same class. The contents surpass in amount and extent those of all other similar inscriptions. They seem to be principally dedicatory memoirs to the building of temples. The pantheon is taken up, and each god assigned his place, with his peculiar relations to men. The sources of the materials, the methods of transportation, and the purposes for which these materials were used in the building of the temples, are all recorded with a nice accuracy. Of the great theme of late Assyrian history, such as wars, subjugations, very little is said. Together with Magan and Meluhha are mentioned a large number of geographical points, throwing much light upon the geography of these old countries. The work already done [July, 1886] on these inscriptions embraces a few scattered translations of the smaller and less difficult ones, principally by French Assyriologists. These have been published, for the most part, in their own journals. Although these have been very fragmentary, they have been, by no means, devoid of results. They have merely intimated what a mine of information is yet to be derived from an exhaustive study of these inscriptions."

The author gives about twenty pages, text, translation and glossary, of "The Gudea Inscription" (plates 16-19). A complete work, including the Transcription, Transliteration, and, as far as possible, the Translation, Glossary and Sign-list, of the published inscriptions of de Sarzec, is promised at an early date.

➤BOOK ❖ NOTICES.❖◀

WICKES' TREATISE ON HEBREW ACCENTUATION.*

This is really a continuation of a work published by the same author in 1881, on the accentuation of the three so-called poetical books of the Old Testament. The writer began with the poetical books, partly because the ground to be covered would be less, and partly also because these books stood in greater need of treatment. In the work before us Mr. Wickes has employed a truly scientific method. No pains have been spared to make the treatment full and accurate. It is not too much to say that no work of an equally conscientious or valuable character, has ever before been done on this subject. The MSS. in all the principal libraries have been collated, a work in itself of great magnitude.

His presentation of the purposes of the accents is excellent. The distinction made and carried out so rigidly between logical and syntactical pauses makes very simple what, at least to beginners, has always been obscure. No one can now doubt either (1) that the purpose was to draw out the sense and impress it on the minds of readers and hearers; or (2) that the *meaning* thus drawn out is only the traditional meaning, and consequently to be disregarded when satisfactory arguments may be presented.

Perhaps most interesting will be found the author's arguments for the later date of the Babylonian system of punctuation as compared with the Palestinian. His conclusion that the Babylonian is but an attempt to simplify and introduce regularity into the older system is well-founded and will be generally accepted.

What he gives us in reference to the original musical force of the accents, though meagre, is more definite than anything which has been before published. The highest melodies were represented by Pāzēr, T'lišā, Gērēs; the medium, by Zārqu (S'ghōltā), R'bhī(ă)', L'gharmê, T'bhîr; the lowest, by Paštā, Zāqēph, Tīph-hā, 'Athnāh and Sillūq. The distinction of Emperors, Kings, Counts, etc., is justly claimed to be fanciful and misleading. It is a distinction originated by early Christian writers, and is not found in Jewish grammars. Chapter III. takes up the general question of the *dichotomy*, which lies at the basis of the whole system. Its origin is explained to have arisen in connection with the poetical parts of the Pentateuch, e. g., Exod. xv.; Deut. xxxii. First applied to these according to the principles of Hebrew poetry, it afterwards spread to the prose portions. Adopting as a law, that the main dichotomy should always be found where the main logical pause would require it, he proceeds to classify under seven heads the variations to this law. Variations may be satisfactorily explained as due, e. g., to an effort to secure rhetorical effect, to mark special emphasis, or to present a peculiar interpretation. The cases cited are generally well-chosen. Occasionally,

* A TREATISE ON THE ACCENTUATION OF THE TWENTY-ONE SO-CALLED PROSE BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, WITH A FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE CODEX ASSIGNED TO BEN-ASHER, IN ALEPPO. By Wm. Wickes, D.D. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1887. New York: Macmillan & Co. Price, \$1.75

however, a text will be found which does not seem to support the author's view. Chapter IV. treats of syntactical dichotomy. The laws for the accentuation of the subject, the object, adverbs, prepositional phrases, the vocative, the verb, the predicate in nominal sentences, and conjunctions, under different circumstances, are given with their deviations. In Chapter V., the treatment of Sillûq, the presentation is something like this: The main dichotomy may come on the first word before Sillûq and be marked by Tîphhâ 'or 'Athnâh, the former being most common (Gen. II. 1; Isa. XXXVI. 1); on the *second* word, marked by 'Athnâh or Tîphhâ (for the latter, Gen. I. 13; Exod. XV. 18); on the *third* or *fourth* word, marked by 'Athnâh or Zaqêph; on the *fifth* word, always marked by 'Athnâh. The succeeding chapters take up the consecution of 'Athnâh, Zaqêph, and the remaining accents.

An interesting feature of the work is the list of texts, corrected by the rules laid down, in connection with each section. Nor are these corrections the work of conjecture. Not only do they, as thus amended, accord with the laws deduced, but in nearly every case MS. authority is found to corroborate the emendation. The arguments by which S'gholtâ is shown to be subordinate to 'Athnâh, and the proof that it is but a substitute under certain definite circumstances for Zaqêph are, taken together, convincing and conclusive.

It has been attempted to give a notice of the contents and spirit of this book. Further details cannot be added. Criticism, while on some points possible, is hardly gracious, in view of the great flood of light which our author, by his painstaking labors, has shed upon the subject of the accents. It is sufficient to say of this volume what Professor Driver has said of the first: "A more lucid or masterly exposition of a complicated subject could scarcely be imagined."

W. R. HARPER.

DELITZSCH'S ASSYRISCHES WOERTERBUCH.*

The first *Lieferung* of Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Woerterbuch* has at last made its appearance to the great delight of all Assyrian, as well as general Semitic, students. It consists of 168 large quarto pages, written in Delitzsch's characteristically plain hand. These pages carry us from א to אֲרָם. In his preface, the author states that he hopes to finish this work in ten such *Lieferungen* of 160 pp. each, i. e. in all, 1600 pp.

The author has compiled his lexicon in strict concordance with the rules laid down in his *Prolegomena*. These are in brief, 1) the explanation of the Assyrian by means of the Assyrian, references to be made to the other Semitic languages only when necessary to bring out the meaning more clearly, or for the sake of comparison; 2) the arrangement of the stems alphabetically and the placing of all derivatives under their respective stems; 3) the separation of the Proper Nouns from the lexicon proper; 4) the separation of the most important notes from those of less importance and from mere theories. The former are in

* ASSYRISCHES WOERTERBUCH ZUR GESAMMTEN BISHER VERÖFFENTLICHTEN KEILSCHRIFT-LITERATUR UNTER BERUECKSICHTIGUNG ZAHLREICHER UNVERÖFFENTLICHTER TEXTE VON Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Prof. ord. hon. für Assyriologie und Semitische Sprachen an der Universität Leipzig. Erste Lieferung. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1887. 4to. 168 pp. M.30

large type, the latter in smaller type, or classified as foot-notes. Naturally a great many things have been inserted which would not find place in a Hebrew or Arabic lexicon; for example, the publication *in extenso* of many unpublished texts. This was found necessary, because a great many texts had been published very imperfectly, and others of great importance had not been published at all. This method adds greatly to the bulk of the lexicon; and yet it is far preferable to that suggested by Prof. Lyon, viz.: that the texts should rather be published in different numbers of one of the journals devoted to Assyriology. It is, to say the least, the simpler and more convenient method of the two.

Although this lexicon appeared only last April, it has already received much criticism, both favorable and unfavorable, fair and unfair.¹

A book should, in so far as possible, be judged from the stand-point of the author, and not from that of the critic, or, to be more explicit, Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Woerterbuch* should be judged from what it professes to be, and not from what other people think it should be. The author announces that his book is to be a complete lexicon to all the inscriptions heretofore published, and to SOME—not ALL—unpublished inscriptions. One reviewer² is unreasonable enough to say in one column that the book should have been made a pocket-dictionary instead of what it is, and, a few lines below this statement, that the book is of no value because it does not contain *all* the words in *all* the unpublished and as yet unnumbered and even unwashed tablets in the British Museum. How long would we be compelled to wait if Delitzsch had not published his lexicon until all the tablets in the British Museum were classified and read? Mr. Pinches, with the assistance of others, has worked indefatigably during the last nine years to bring about this classification. And yet how many thousands of tablets remain untouched? Again, Mr. Smith should have criticized the fundamental principle laid down by the author in his *Prolegomena*, viz.: that the Assyrian should, in so far as possible, be explained by and through the Assyrian, instead of denouncing him because he has not filled his book with numerous comparisons from the Arabic, a language which is, relatively speaking, remotely related to the Assyrian.

Prof. Delitsch has endeavored to arrange each word under its root in alphabetical order. No one can appreciate the difficulty of this work who has not made a similar attempt. The arrangement according to stems in the other Semitic languages must be considered as mere child's play when compared to the Assyrian. Our author has, in all probability, made many mistakes in this arrangement, and he himself is the last one to claim perfection for his work. Where he was in doubt as to the stem of a word, he has frankly admitted his doubt. His theories, in such cases, have been added in smaller type and in many cases with the greatest reluctance.

The author, so far as we have seen, has made no direct statements as to his present position on the Sumero-Akkadian question. As far back as the third edition of his *Assyrische Lesestuecke* (July, 1885), he has carefully avoided the terms Sumerian and Akkadian, preferring the more general and non-committal term "Non-Semitic." In Dr. Zimmern's *Busspsalmen*, he admits that more scientific methods and more convincing arguments must be used against the Anti-Akkadists

¹ Cf. Prof. D. G. Lyon's most fair and appreciative review in the *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, at Boston, May 1886; A. S. Smith, in the *Academy*, July 23, 1887; E. in the *Expositor*, Sept., 1887.

² A. S. Smith, in the *Academy*, July 23, 1887.

than have heretofore been used, if the Akkadists wish to win their points. From several indirect statements, however, one is led to believe that Delitzsch is gradually drawing nearer and nearer to the Anti-Akkadist school of Halévy. His remarks are still very guarded and only serve to make one inquisitive in respect to the real views of the author. All Assyriologists would be pleased to have a plain and concise statement of his *present* views on this question.

Another point, going hand in hand with the preceding, may be noticed, viz.: that the author explains as good Semitic many words hitherto regarded as loan-words. Nothing else could be expected, after the remarks made above. A ba is placed under the stem אבה, and translated "Secretär," with the additional remark that there is no doubt that it is "gutsemitisch." Abkallu, with less emphasis, however, is also regarded as a good Semitic word—contrary to Haupt, who takes it as a loan-word—composed of ab+kallum, cf. pp. 32, 33. The author's treatment of abarakku, abrakku (pp. 69, 70) is new and interesting. On p. 72, the expressions bîti abtu, Tig. VI. 99 = "mein zerstörtes Haus" and ab-ta-a-ti, Neb. Bors. II. 10, = "die zu Grunde gegangenen," are explained by placing abtu and abtâti under the root אבה. Mr. Smith¹ in "The Borsippa Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar," along with a multitude of other false derivations, says: "This certainly means 'stories.' I think the root is פתח." He had evidently paid but little attention to Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Woerterbuch* before writing this article (it appeared in July, about two weeks before the review in the Academy) or he would have noticed the derivation given by Delitzsch. Cf. also *Assyr. Woerterbuch*, p. 109. Agurru from a stem אגר, "to surround." Delitzsch distinguishes two agurru's (as he had already done in his "Vorlesungen"), viz: agurru, I. = "Umschliessung," "Einfassung," "Umkleidung," and agurru, II. = "baked clay," "bricks," always used collectively.

On pp. 119, 120, new light is thrown on the difficult word adaguru which occurs in Nimrod Epos XI. 149. Cf. also êdlu from the stem אדרל, instead of êtlu, pp. 150, sqq.

Many more interesting words and references could be cited, but lack of space forbids. In conclusion, it may be said that the first *Lieferung* contains even more material than could have been expected. The typographical execution is splendid. It is a monumental work and deserves the kind attention of all Semitic students. Many will not be able to agree with the author in all that he says, but all will recognize the hand of a master in this book. That the author's life may be prolonged until he brings this—his life's work—to completion should be the earnest wish of every Semitic student.

ROBERT F. HARPER,
Yale University.

TABLEAU COMPARE DES ECRITURES BABYLONIENNE ET ASSYRIENNE.*

The body of the very useful and much needed work before us consists of a syllabary giving the archaic and the various modern forms of two hundred and ninety-six characters, to which, in a supplement, eleven are added, making a total

¹ In the *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, July, 1887.

* A. Amiaud et L. Méchineau, TABLEAU COMPARE DES ECRITURES BABYLONIENNE ET ASSYRIENNE ARCHAÏQUES ET MODERNES AVEC CLASSEMENT DES SIGNES D'APRES LEUR FORME ARCHAÏQUE. Paris: Leroux. 1887. 12fr.

of three hundred and seven numbers. The archaic forms occurring on the monuments discovered in the plains of Chaldæa by de Sarzec are taken as a basis, and for the first time appear classified according to a certain system. Underneath the archaic form or forms of each character are ranged, in two parallel columns, the various equivalents in the more modern styles down to the current forms, all the Babylonian styles being to the left of the dividing line and the Assyrian to the right, the distinct forms in each column being further subdivided according to their derivation from the assumed prototype. This plan of arrangement, for obvious reasons, is an exceedingly convenient one. In this way the confusion to the eye is avoided which would result from a *single* array of signs, and the detection of a desired character is greatly facilitated, while, at the same time, the comparison between the Babylonian and Assyrian forms being at command, a survey of the entire field can be more readily obtained. Reference to cuneiform inscriptions are given for every single form, with the exception of the current Assyrian and Babylonian ones (which close the list under each number), where, of course, no references are required. In fifty-five instances (out of the three hundred and seven numbers) the archaic forms have not yet been found on the monuments, and have therefore been conjecturally constructed; but only when it has been possible to decompose the modern form into its parts, and when, for these parts, archaic equivalents exist, have the conscientious authors ventured to supply missing links in the chain. On the other hand, in twenty-five cases, our authors have not succeeded in assimilating the archaic form to a modern equivalent; and in six cases the assimilation is marked as uncertain. Following the syllabary comes a table of the numerals in the Gudea inscriptions, also with the Babylonian and Assyrian forms, and upon these, two lists, in modern Assyrian characters, arranged in the usual order, the first of which contains such signs as are referred to in the syllabary, together with the number under which they are to be found, and the second, those that are not, the two together forming, as the preface assures us, a complete index of the cuneiform signs at present known.

We should have liked to have seen a third list added, giving the old Babylonian forms with their equivalents in the current Assyrian style, for the benefit of those who are passing from the latter to the study of the former, and perhaps even a fourth list giving a similar arrangement of the characters in the modern Babylonian style might not have been superfluous.

An important and curious fact results from a study of the development of the cuneiform system such as is now, thanks to Messrs. Amiaud and Méchineau, placed within easy range of every student.

There was nothing which, in the early days of the decipherment, puzzled scholars so much and served to cast such suspicion in "lay" circles upon the results reached by the decipherers, as the *polyphonic* character of the signs. How was it possible, it was asked, that a *single* character should have the values "uṣ" and "nit," or "kal," "dan," "rib" and "lab"? We have long since ceased to wonder at this. It is rather the poly-ideographic character of the signs that may now more justly call forth our surprise. The association due to synonymy, or similarity of ideas, is of course the most important factor in accounting for the various significations which a character has acquired. In this way the sign which means *strong* is also used for the synonyms of *strong*; that for *mouth* may designate *face*, *countenance*, hence *form*, as well as to *speak*, *command* and *word* or *order*. A second factor is the association due to similarity of *sound*, to which the reviewer

recently called attention in a paper read before the American Oriental Association.¹ According to this principle identity or similarity in sound leads to the employment of a sign to express objects not otherwise related. Thus the character which, as an ideogram, has the value "libittu" *brick*, is extended to "lipittu" *fence*; and in the same way, merely through closeness of sound, "tukultu" *help* and "takiltu" *apparition*, are brought together; and many more the like

A third factor which is now, by the "Tableau Comparé," placed beyond doubt, is the *fusion* of two, and in some cases of three, signs, originally distinct, into one. Messrs. Amiaud and Méchineau call attention to eight cases where this process has taken place. The sign, for instance, which has the phonetic values "uš" and "nit" (No. 187 of Delitzsch's "Schrifttafel") has two entirely distinct archaic prototypes. Now we know that "uš" is the "Sumero-Akkadian" for Assyrian "zikaru" *male*, and "nit," an abbreviation of "nita" or "nitaḥ," is the equivalent of "ridâ" *stream, effusion*. There seems to be no connection whatever between these two terms; but on the assumption that the one of the archaic prototypes represents "uš" and the second "nit," and that it is merely by the flowing together of the two *forms* in the modern styles that the two terms have been thrown together, the difficulty is cleared away. The same applies to "bar" and "maš" (No. 47 of the "Schrifttafel"), for which again there exist two archaic forms. The sign "sar," "ḥir," etc. (No. 111), presents an interesting feature. While in the modern Babylonian there has taken place a fusion of only two forms, in the current Assyrian the process has gone still further and a third form, for which as yet a separate character is to be found in the former, has in the latter been thrown together with the other two. But the most interesting of the instances cited is that of "ku," etc. (No. 288), which reverts to no less than four archaic forms.

On the other hand, and as a kind of compensation, we find at least one instance where the contrary seems to have taken place, and signs are *differentiated* in modern styles which in older types are not distinguished. In the case of Nos. 215 and 219 (according to the "Schrifttafel") the further back we go, the less differences do they show, and in some of the Nebuchadnezzar texts there is practically none at all; so that, although the archaic form for the latter has not yet been found, it is very probable, as our authors say, that the two descend from "a single and common primitive form." But even if this be not admitted, the forms must have been so alike as to have been mistaken for one another. In no better way can we account for the fact that the latter has so many phonetic values, "bir," "pir," "laḥ" and "liḥ," in common with the former, and is furthermore used to express such ideas as "namaru" *to be bright* and "nuru" *light*. The sign, as is known, also designates "šabu" *warrior* and "ummânu" *army*, with a corresponding phonetic value "šab" (whence "šap" and "zab"); and if we may be permitted to venture a further conjecture, it is that, in the latter sense, the sign is an abbreviation of "SAB" and "ZUN." A parallel instance would be No. 288, which in the sense of "šubatu," "nalbašu" *dress*, seems to be an abbreviation of No. 291.²

MORRIS JASTROW, JR.,

University of Pennsylvania.

¹ Proceedings for May, 1887, pp. 18-22. See also Zimmern, "Busspsalmen," p. 6.

² In the "clothing" list, V R. 14, 15, Nos. 288 and 291 are used interchangeably as determinatives.

»SEMITIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.«

- SMITH, S. A. Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals, Königs von Assyrien, nach dem in London copirten Grundtext mit Transcription, Uebersetzung, Kommentar und vollständigem Glossar. Heft. II. Neue Bautexte, unöfientliche Briefe und Depeschen mit Originaltext-Ausgabe, u. s. w. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1887. 8vo, pp. 99 with plates.....M.12
- Miscellaneous Assyrian Texts of the British Museum with Textual Notes. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer. 1887. 8vo.....M.8.
- PINCHES, THEO. G. Zwei assyrische Briefe übersetz und erklärt. Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1887.
- HAUPT, PAUL. The Assyrian E-Vowel. A Contribution to the Comparative Phonology of the Assyro-Babylonian Language. Baltimore: Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University, 1887. 8vo, pp. 29.
- SAYCE, A. H. Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians. [The Hibbert Lectures for 1887.] London: Williams & Norgate.
- The Capture of Samaria by the Assyrians. *Academy*, Oct. 22, 1887.
- WICKES, WM. כִּנֵּי סִפְרֵי: a Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose books of the Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1887.....\$1.75
- SACHAU, Edward. Albêrûnîs India: an Account of the Religion, Philosophy, Literature, Chronology, Customs, Laws, and Astrology of India about A. D., 1030. Edited in the Arabic Original.
- SARZEC, ERNST DE. Découvertes en Chaldeé. Deuxième livraison (Premier fascicule). Feuilles 4-9. Planches, 9, 14, 15, 27, 32, 35, 37, 39. Paris: Leroux, 1887.
- JEREMIAS, A. Die babylonisch-assyrische Vorstellung vom Leben nach dem Tode. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1887.....M.6.
- STRASSMAIER, J. N. Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon, Heft. I. Leipzig: Hinrich, 1887. 8vo.....M.12
- LEBLOIS, L. Le Koran et la bible hébraïque. Paris: Fischbacher.....10fr.
- PANNIER, E. A. Genealogiæ biblicæ cum monumentis ægyptiorum et chaldæorum collatæ. Avec gravures en héliogravure. Gr. in-8. Paris: Maisonneuve.....10fr.
- AMELINEAU, E. Étude historique sur saint Pachome et le cénobitisme primitif dans la haute Egypte d'après les monuments coptes. In-8. Paris: Leroux,3fr.50
- SMITH, W. ROBERTSON. On the Hebrew Root קָצַע and the Word מִקְצוֹעַ. *Journal of Philology*, XVI., No. 31, 1887.
- HOMMEL, FRITZ. Sumeriological Notes. *Bab. and Orient. Record*, Sept., '87.
- MITCHELL, H. G. Two papers: Partitives after Numerals; Isa. VIII. 20. *Journal of Exegetical Soc.*, June, '87, pp. 61-68.

- PORTER, J. LESLIE. The Connexion between Jewish, Phœnician and Early Greek Art and Architecture. *Journal of the Trans. Victoria Institute*, XXI. 1.
- BOSCAWEN, W. ST. CHAD. Historical Evidences of the Migration of Abram. [Including transliterations and translations of the Cyl. Inscription of Eri-aku and Kudur-Mabug (Br. Museum), Hammurabi (Louvre), Nabonidus, I. R. 64, Col. I. 45). *Ibid.*
- POWELL, T. The Samoan Account of Creation and the Deluge. *Ibid.*
- MENANT, J. Les Hétéens; Un nouveau problème de l'histoire d'Orient. *Revue de l'Histoire de religions*, Torme XV. No. 1.
- BARTH, J. Das Nominalpräfix na im Assyrischen. *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, Apr., '87.
- WINCKLER, H. Einige neuveröffentlichte Texte Hammourabis, Nabopolassars und Nebukadnezars. *Ibid.*
- Studien und Beiträge zur babylonisch-assyrischen Geschichte. I. Chronicon Babylonicum editum et commentario instructum. *Ibid.*
- TIELE, C. P. Bemerkungen über Ê-sagila in Babel und Ê-zida in Borsippa zur Zeit Nabukadrezars. II. *Ibid.*
- JENSEN, P. Hymnen auf das Wiedererschienen der drei grossen Lichtgötter. II. *Ibid.*
- LEHMANN, C. F. Critique of Amiaud's and Méchineau's "Tableau comparé des écritures babylonienne et assyrienne." *Ibid.*
- GUIDI, I. Critique of Budge's "The Book of the Bee." *Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana*. Volume Primo. 1887.
- AMARI, M. Critique of Sachau's "Albîrûnî's India." *Ibid.*
- HUART, CL. Bibliographie ottomane. Notice des livres turcs, arabes et persans imprimés a Constantinople. *Journ. Asiatique*, Avril-Mai-Jun., 1887.
- BERGER, PH. Note sur la grande inscription néo-punique et sur une autre inscription d'Altiburos. *Ibid.*
- CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M. Notes d'épigraphie et d'histoire arabes. *Ibid.*
- DUVAL, RUBENS. Critique of Payne Smith's "Thesaurus Syriacus." *Ibid.*
- Critique of Fraenkel's "Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischem." *Journ. asiatique*, Juillet-Août., 1887.
- TELONI, BRUTO. Chrestomazia Assira con paradigmi grammaticali. Firenze: Libreria di Ermanno Loescher. 1882. 8vo, pp. IV., 144.